ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. L. GRIFFITH, B.A., F.S.A.

BENI HASAN

PART II.

BY

PERCY E. NEWBERRY

WITH APPENDIX, PLANS AND MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOMBS BY

G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

WITH THIRTY-NINE PLATES

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

LONDON

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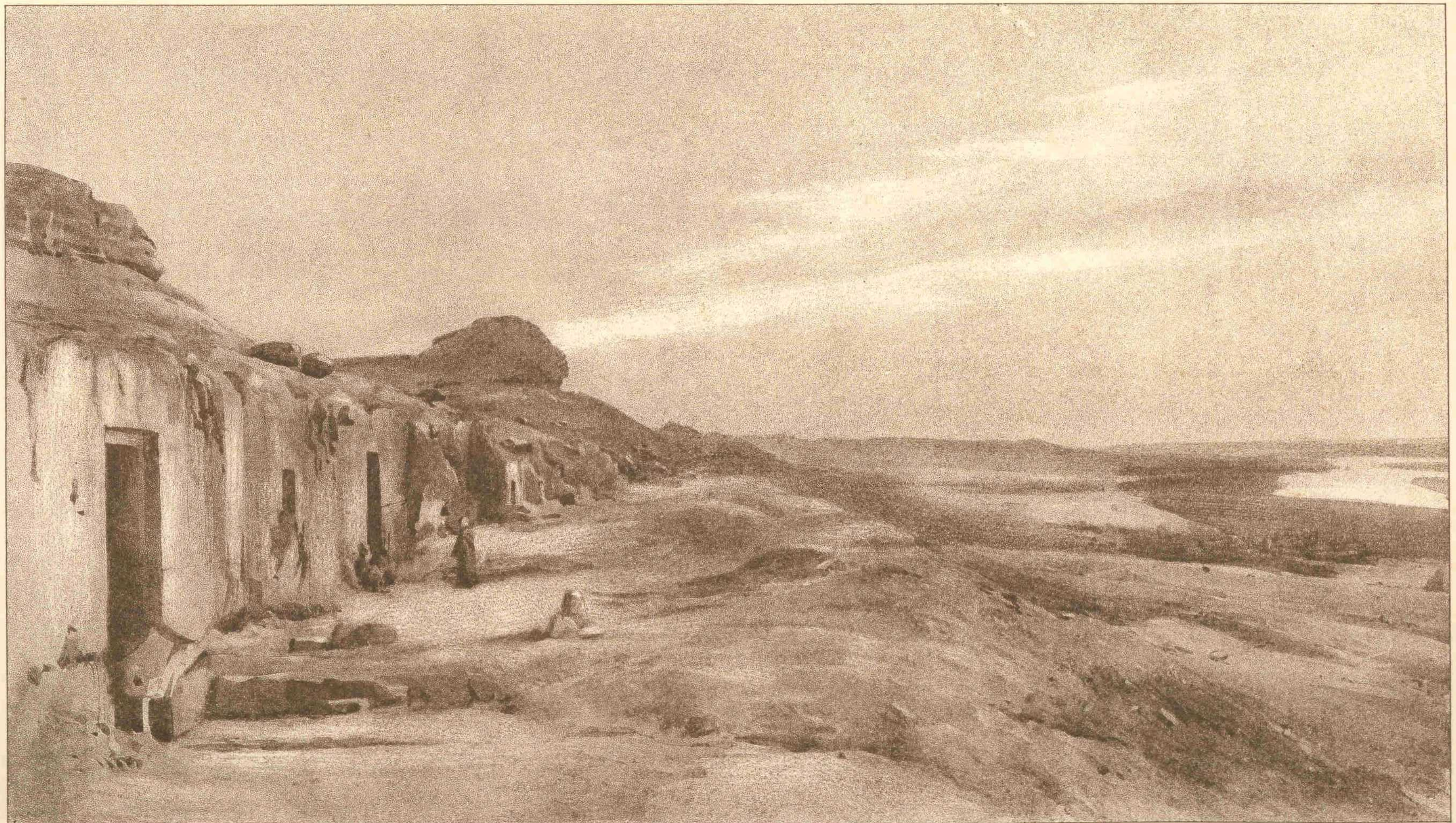
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37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.

(Opposite the British Museum)

1894



INK-PHOTO. SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

VIEW OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF TOMBS FROM TOMB No. 13.

FROM A WATER-COLOUR DRAWING BY PERCY BUCKMAN.

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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

The tenants of the tombs to dust decay,
Nescient of self, and all beside are they;
Their sundered atoms float about the world,
Like mirage clouds, until the judgment-day.

Omar Khayyâm (Whinfield's translation, 242).

CONTENTS.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE present volume completes the description of the tombs at Beni Hasan. To this detailed description has been added the report of the Surveyor, Mr. G. Willoughby Fraser, who deals with the plans and measurements of the whole series of tombs and with the objects found in the course of his excavations. The summary accounts contained in the "General Notice" in Part I. are also continued and completed; the sections printed in this volume deal with the decoration of the tombs, with the history of the families concerned, and with the geography and the religion as illustrated in the scenes and inscriptions; the situation of the tombs, their purpose, date, and architecture, having been already discussed in Part I.

It will be observed that in this volume there is a return to the system of transliteration that has been customary in England for about twenty years. The transliteration and spelling of oriental words are always matters of contention, and the system adopted in Part I. gave rise to some complaints: subscribers familiar with the old system were unwilling to abandon it for a new one, which might not, after all, be final. I have therefore, by direction of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, consulted with several experts in order to adapt the earlier style to modern scientific requirements. On the one hand, an attempt has been made to render it even more intelligible by substituting $\underline{kh}$, $\underline{sh}$, and $\underline{th}$ for χ, *š*, and θ. On the other hand, the *á* has been introduced instead of the *ā* to represent the supposed ع *áin* sound of 𓂝, since all travellers in Egypt can comprehend the meaning of the new symbol. The semi-vowel *y* has also been substituted for long *ī*, as being nearer to the true value of the 𓇌, and *z* for the somewhat enigmatical *t'*.

The Egyptian alphabet appears to have been purely consonantal, at least such is our opinion, but our readers might find a difficulty in making for themselves a pronounceable word out of groups of consonants like *ḥtp*, *Usrtsn*, and so on. The conventional pronunciation of the words (their real pronunciation being unknown) has therefore been indicated by inserting the letter *e* where necessary; the three "breathings" (if we may name them so) have been vocalized with *a*, marked as *a*, *ȧ*, *a̔* (𓄿, 𓇋, 𓂝), to distinguish these troublesome consonants. The chick 𓅱 is no longer a *w* but *u*, and the pronunciation of the 𓇌 *y* as a vowel, in such names as Khety, will present no difficulty to the English reader.

F. L. GRIFFITH.
(*Superintendent of the Archæological Survey.*)

BRITISH MUSEUM,
December 6th, 1893.

THE TOMBS AT BENI HASAN.

PART II.

GENERAL NOTICE OF THE TOMBS

(continued from Part I., p. 3).

It was pointed out in the first part of the present memoir,[1] that the tombs which are here described, are nearly related to one another in point of time, and, further, that they all belong to the Middle Kingdom period of Egyptian history (*circa* 2800-2500 B.C.). This was a time of great wealth among the nobles, and consequently it is found that the decoration of their tombs is very rich. The architecture, which is extremely simple, has already been described,[2] but the interior decoration of the tombs yet remains to be noticed.

DECORATION. Sculpture. § 5. But little sculptured decoration is found at Beni Hasan. It is confined to the façades, the doorways, the columns, and the shrines. In two tombs (Nos. 2 and 3) dentils representing the ends of wooden roof-beams have been sculptured in the portico. The architraves of the doorway have incised inscriptions in horizontal and vertical lines, which are divided from each other by grooves; the same is the case with the doorway into the shrine of Tomb No. 3. There are also incised hieroglyphs in the passages into Tombs Nos. 2, 3, and 13. The columns are either fluted (as in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 32), or sculptured in the form of bundles of lotus-buds (Nos. 15, 17, 18, and 28). In four instances[3] the shrine has contained statues of the deceased, which in Nos. 2 and 3 have been painted. In ancient Egyptian tombs it was usual to represent the entrance into the underworld by the jambs and lintel of a doorway, with a stela above it, upon one of the walls. This is technically known as the "false door," and was often represented with great elaboration, but there is never any passage-way through it. At Beni Hasan there are nine instances of false doors in the thirty-nine tombs. In Tomb No. 2 it is painted only, but in all the other cases it is represented in relief, or at least by sculptured lines, and not merely painted, so as to keep up its architectural character. The position of these false doors appears to

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., General Notice, § 3, p. 2.

[2] *L.c.*, General Notice, § 4, p. 3.

[3] Tombs Nos. 2, 3, 9, 30. In Tomb No. 36, on the East wall, are also sculptured three small figures.

have been to a great extent arbitrary; the West, however, was the region of departed souls, and there was evidently a strong preference for the west and south-west. The examples found at Beni Hasan are five[1] in the southern half of the west wall, one in the north half of the same wall,[2] two near the west end of the south wall,[3] and, although the inner end of these tombs is naturally eastwards, there is only one case,[4] and that probably the earliest in the group, where the false door has been placed there.

Painting.

The painted decoration consists of (*a*) architectural ornamentation, and (*b*) scenes painted upon a thin coat of fine-grained plaster. This latter was found necessary owing to the natural limestone being found too absorbent for the purposes of the artist. The pigments, which are red, blue, yellow, green, black, and white, are mostly of mineral origin,[5] and were probably laid on with a white of egg medium; such, at least, is the opinion of several artists who have visited the place, including Mr. M. W. Blackden, who made many careful copies from the original paintings.

Architectural Decoration.

(*a*) ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION. Under this heading may be grouped the ceiling-decorations, the friezes, dados, border patterns, columns, and architraves.

In three of the tombs only are the ceilings painted (Nos. 2, 3, and 23). The decoration of No. 3 is the simplest. Here the ceiling is divided by black lines into a series of small red and yellow squares containing quatrefoils, which are black in the red squares and blue in the yellow. The ceiling decoration of Tomb No. 2 is more elaborate, and is evidently derived from the roof of a dwelling-house. A wooden beam, inscribed with the ordinary prayer for the owner, is represented as running longitudinally down the centre of the ceiling. The space on either side is painted with quatrefoils as before, but in the middle there is a remarkable change of pattern, which is undoubtedly intended to show an opening in the roof, covered with matting of more than one pattern.[6] The ceiling of Tomb No. 23 is similarly decorated, the only important difference being that the painted wooden beam and the mat-work pattern run transversely across the ceiling instead of longitudinally.

The Friezes vary in the different tombs. In No. 29, the earliest painted tomb in the group, it consists of a single cord or binding pattern, black on white, with a row of coloured rectangles below (see Fig. 1).

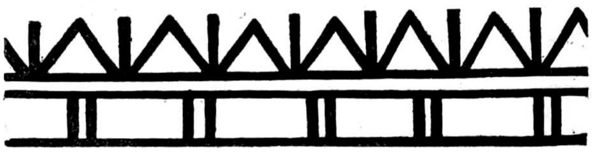


FIG. 1.

In Nos. 2, 3, 14, 15, 17, 23, and 29 the *Kheker*[7] ornament takes the place of the binding pattern, with the rectangles as before (see Figs. 2 and 3 for two types). In Tomb

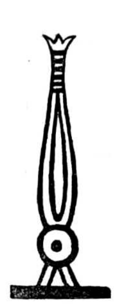


FIG. 2. KHEKER ORNAMENT FROM TOMB NO. 17.



FIG. 3. KHEKER ORNAMENT FROM TOMB NO. 2.

[1] Tombs Nos. 2, 17, 27, 33, 38.

[2] Tomb No. 14.

[3] Tombs Nos. 3 and 22. In the latter there are two opposite each other on the North and South walls.

[4] Tomb No. 29.

[5] *Vide* a paper read before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, March 17, 1893, by Dr. W. J. Russell, F.R.S., and published in the Proceedings of that Society.

[6] For details see *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. vi., and p. 29.

[7] The was named *Kheker* by the Egyptians.

No. 33 the *Khekers* are very small, and a band of rectangles is painted above instead of beneath them.

The Dado, or space beneath the wall-painting, is usually left plain, and the scenes are bordered below by one or more bands of colour. In the shrine of Tomb No. 2, however, the dado was painted pink and then splashed with red, green, and black in order to resemble rose granite. In the main-chamber of Tomb No. 3 the same decoration is used, and vertical lines of hieroglyphs are incised upon it and painted in green. The decoration of the dado of the shrine of the same tomb is very elaborate, and has been fully described in *Beni Hasan*, Part I.[1]

In Tombs Nos. 2 and 3 the arched roofs form, upon the east and west walls, extensive curved spaces above the *Kheker* frieze, which is carried horizontally across from spring to spring of the arch. The decorator has filled these spaces with a kind of mat-work pattern in yellow and green. This is not shown in our plates, but can be seen in Lepsius's copy in the *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 126.

The borders at the sides of the scenes are formed by bands of coloured rectangles, beyond which, in Tombs Nos. 2 and 3, there is a peculiar rope pattern and a blue line. Possibly the scenes in the tombs were in imitation of decorated screens hung upon the walls of palaces; the cord pattern suggests looped or linked cords running upon upright poles at the ends of these screens, to keep them stretched, for the loops are drawn out in the upper part and heaped together below, as it were by the weight of the screens to which they are attached. It must be admitted, however, that if this was so, the treatment of it by the artist is decidedly conventional.

Under the heading of architectural decoration should also be noted the colouring of the doorways, jambs, architraves, columns, &c. The doorways and jambs of Tombs Nos. 2 and 3 are coloured to imitate rose granite, as also are the architraves and columns. In Tomb No. 17, however, the columns, which are carved to represent a bundle of stems and buds of the lotus, are painted in various colours, but all of them purely conventional.[2]

The Scenes. Arrangement.

(*b*) The Scenes. The arrangement of the paintings upon the walls is more or less arbitrary; sometimes two or three, sometimes many scenes are grouped upon one wall. They are then usually arranged in horizontal tiers one above the other, but frequently figures larger than the life interrupt this continuity. In grouping the scenes upon the walls a natural principle generally guided the artist when other ideas did not interfere; this was to represent the desert at the top of the wall, the Nile at the bottom, and scenes of agriculture, &c., on the banks of the river between. It is worth noting also that apparently certain walls were reserved for special subjects. Thus, hunting scenes are always painted at the top of the North wall, and the scenes of battle and (with two exceptions) those of wrestling on the East wall. In the earlier tombs (Nos. 27, 29, 33) the East wall was reserved for the religious scenes and lists of offerings. Many of the paintings have been copied from one tomb into another, which may, perhaps, account for this peculiarity. Thus, the scenes on the North wall (west end) and East wall of Tomb No. 17 are undoubtedly copied from the corresponding wall-paintings of Tomb No. 15.

Execution.

There is no natural or continuous background, and the only attempt at true perspective to be found in the tomb-paintings occurs on the North wall of Tomb No. 3. It is in the scene of men feeding oryxes in the farmyard (see *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxvii.). In the

[1] P. 71, and Pls. xxvi. and xxvii.

[2] See Pl. x. and p. 55.

foreground is an oryx kneeling, and behind it, in the background, another animal of the same species, which a man is endeavouring to throw on its knees by putting his weight upon its neck and horns. The arms and hips of the man are correctly drawn, and the form of his back and chest is rendered without any exaggeration. In all cases the figures are drawn in outline, and filled in with the necessary local colour without any attempt at producing the effect of sculpture by finer toning or shading. In drawing the human figure the artists of Beni Hasan followed the usual Egyptian custom. The head is in profile with a full-face eye and placed upon a full-face bust. The trunk, however, is seen from a three-quarter point of view, while the legs are drawn in profile. In no case do we find the head drawn from the front, except in the conventionalized hieroglyph 𓁷 *her*. Some parts of the South wall of Tomb No. 2 have been marked out with squares, as if to regulate the designs mathematically, but traces of this practice are few and show but little accuracy.[1] The artist has here also made little sketch studies of the persons that he was portraying, apparently in order to obtain a more satisfactory portrait.[2] Generally, however, he first drew the outlines of the figures in pale red, without any set-out lines to guide him, and then went over them again in some darker or black paint, correcting any little mistakes that he might have made. In most of the paintings in the tombs at Beni Hasan the technical skill displayed by the artists is not great; the paintings in Tomb No. 17 are exceedingly coarse, and the same is the case with those on the North wall of Tomb No. 2. Those on the South wall and in the shrine of the latter tomb, however, are very carefully drawn; and the wrestlers painted on the East wall of Tomb No. 15 should be especially noted, for nowhere in all Egypt do we find the human figure more naturalistically treated. In the rendering of birds, fish, and animals they attained greater perfection than in the rendering of the human figure, so that there is little difficulty in identifying the species represented. The natural features of the country, however, are very conventionally drawn: water, for instance, is always represented by a series of zig-zag lines, and the desert land by a narrow space with wavy outline, coloured pink, and dotted with red and black spots.

The subjects represented in the different tombs are essentially the same. They are usually taken from the private and everyday life of the people, and are consequently those amid which the dead man had passed his days. He is either at home among his possessions, or hunting in the desert or marshes, and his military expeditions are indicated by combats of soldiers and attacks upon the enemy's forts. SUBJECTS.

At home we see him with his wife and family, and surrounded by his household and other servants. In Tombs Nos. 2 and 3 portraits of the various members of the households of the two owners are given, with their names in painted hieroglyphs. Often the great man is depicted accompanied by his pet dogs, or baboons, and sometimes (in the earlier tombs of the group) by his favourite buffoons, or dwarfs. At other times he is portrayed whilst inspecting the produce of his farms, or whilst superintending the gathering of taxes. Agricultural scenes, indeed, are very numerous. Men are shown ploughing the soil, sowing or harvesting the grain, or storing it in huge granaries, whilst others are tending herds of oxen, asses, and gazelles, or flocks of geese, cranes, and other domesticated birds. Several paintings also show the cultivation of the garden, orchard, and vineyard, and the various processes of wine-making.

[1] An instance is shown on Pl. x. of Part I.

[2] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. x., and Pl. xvii., bottom row, fifth figure from the right.

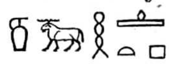
The arts and trades come in for their due share of illustration. Painters and sculptors are represented at work. Men are depicted preparing flax by boiling and beating it, whilst others are spinning and weaving. Potters are shown preparing clay, turning the wheel, and fabricating pots. Goldsmiths are weighing out and working gold. Artificers are shown manufacturing flint knives, and bows and arrows, whilst others are making sandals, rope, mats, and baskets. Carpenters are portrayed at work, making chests and various kinds of household furniture, whilst others are building boats. Nor are the amusements of the people forgotten, there being numerous paintings in which men are shown playing at draughts, mora, thimble-ring, and other games of skill and chance. Gymnastics are also represented by groups of wrestlers, dancers, and acrobats. In most of the tombs are sporting scenes, showing the owner accompanied by his followers hunting the wild animals of the desert. The game is always pursued on foot, for the horse and camel were unknown in Egypt at the time these paintings were executed. We also see the nobles in papyrus canoes upon the marshes, fowling with throw-sticks; at other times spearing fish with harpoons, or seated behind screens of reeds catching wild-fowl in the clap-nets. Their serfs are depicted fishing with the rod and line, or hauling drag-nets ashore filled with shoals of fish.

Military expeditions, as before stated, are indicated by combats of soldiers and attacks upon the enemy's fortresses. The arms are bow and arrow, sling, spear, club, and battle-axe. A shield was also used, and a dagger carried in the belt. Against the forts they wield a kind of battering-ram, and shield themselves with the testudo. In several instances light-skinned men are represented among the native soldiers of the army.

Purely funerary scenes are not numerous. We see, however, the offerings to the deceased, the procession of the statue, and magnificently decorated boats conveying the coffined mummy on the river to visit the sacred shrines of Osiris at Abydos in Upper Egypt, and at Busiris in the Delta.

BIOGRAPHIES.

Khnemhotep the Scribe.

§ 6. (*a*) KHNEMHOTEP, the Scribe. The inscriptions in Tomb No. 13 throw but little light upon the history of its owner, the Royal Scribe,  Khnemhotep. Upon the lintel of the entrance doorway,[1] we read that he was the son of  Neteruhotep, and his mother's name  Sat-tekh (?) is recorded on the right-hand jamb. From his civil titles we gather that he was a "royal scribe," and superintendent of the property of the king in the district. He was also "Regulator of the rotation of priestly orders in the temple of Pakht," and "Manager of the divine offerings in the temples of the gods of this city," *i.e.*, probably Khnem and Heqt of Herur. His descriptive titles tell us that "his position was put forward while he was yet a child,"[2] and further, that he "did not lie still upon those things that he inherited"[3]—perhaps an indication of an ambitious spirit. As to his personal character, we are told that "he loved his lord (the king) truly,"[4] that he loved, and was beloved by, his fellow-citizens,[5] "longsuffering in the midst of the nobles,"[6] and "untainted by robbery."[7]

Family of Baqt I.

BAQT I.

(*b*) BAQT. The earliest of the Great Chiefs of the Oryx Nome recorded at Beni Hasan was  Baqt I. For him Tomb

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xli. and pp. 76-77.

[2] *L.c.*, Part I., Pl. xli., right-hand door-post, line 2, and cp. p. 77.

[3] *L.c.*, the same line and page.

[4] *L.c.*, the same line and page.

[5] *L.c.*, left-hand doorpost, line 1, and p. 76.

[6] *L.c.*, line 2.

[7] *L.c.*, line 1.

No. 29[1] was excavated and decorated, but the inscriptions in it are few, and throw no light whatever upon his ancestry, or even upon his parentage. He is nowhere stated to be an hereditary prince, but bore the usual titles of *Ha*-prince, "Confidential friend of the king," "Royal acquaintance;" and the legal titles of "Chief of the city of Nekheb," "Chamberlain,"[2] and "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen." In an inscription on the South wall of his tomb he is described as "pleasing the heart of all people," and is stated to have made "monuments of eternity in the temple of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt."[3] He married a "priestess of gold (?) of Hathor," named  Tahutiqa,[4] and by her had a son, described as "the eldest son of his body,"[5] who inherited his father's titles and the princedom of the Oryx nome.

Baqt II. For this son, named  Baqt II., Tomb No. 33 was excavated. His descriptive titles tell us that he "loved his lord of very truth," that he was "beloved by his lord every day," and "satisfied the desire of the King within the South."[6] He is further described as the "pillar of the South," and is said to have made "monuments of eternity in the house of Khnem." Nothing is recorded of his family or descendants. It is probable, however, that he was the father (or at least a near relation) of Remushenta, the owner of Tomb No. 27.[7] The two tombs are very similar in design, and the paintings, where they are preserved, bear a close resemblance to one another in style. The inscriptions also show that the titles borne by both men were similar, and the line of hieroglyphs immediately below the frieze upon the South wall of each tomb is nearly sign for sign the same.

Remushenta. That the Remushenta of Tomb No. 27 was the father of Baqt III., buried in Tomb No. 15,[1] there can be little doubt. Baqt III. is stated in his own tomb to be the son of Remushen (*sic*) by Hoteperfu. His titles correspond with those of his presumed father, Remushenta, but he seems to have been granted more territory, since he is described as the "Great Chief of the Oryx nome *to its full extent*."[2] His wife's name is not recorded, but one of his children, a daughter named Hathor-nefer-heputa, is mentioned in an inscription on the North wall of his tomb.[3] He also had a son named Khety.[4]

Khety. This son likewise inherited his father's princedom and titles, and for him a magnificent tomb (No. 17)[5] was hewn in the rock, a few yards from that of his parent. He is described as "Captain of the host in all difficult places," and was apparently "Administrator of the Eastern Desert." He is further described as a great fisher and fowler, and is said to have been beloved of Sekhet, "the mistress of hunting." He married a woman "worthy before Hathor, Lady of Neferus," called Khnemhotep,[6] by whom he had a son. This child is stated to have been his heir, and to have excavated his tomb, but the inscription leaves us in doubt as to his name, for Khety, which occurs at the end of the text,[7] may be the name either of the father or of the son. Can it be that the unnamed son here is Amenemhat of Tomb

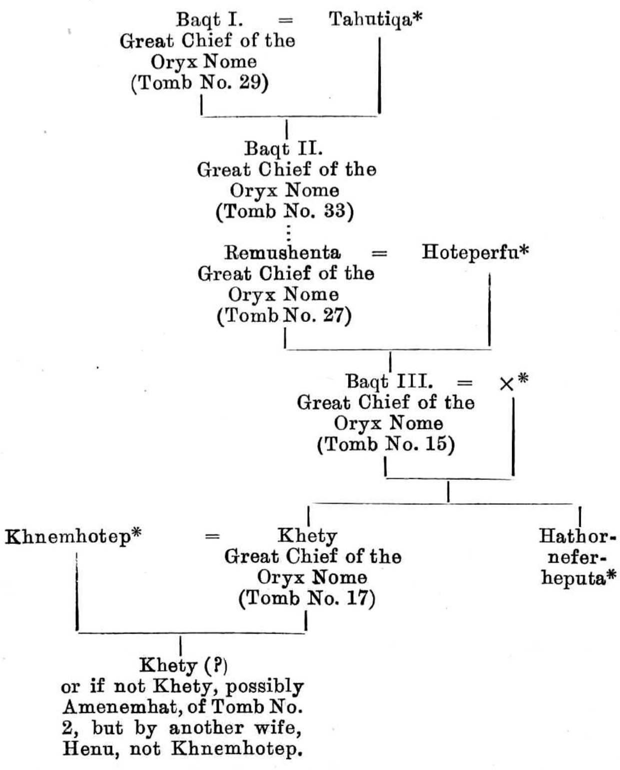
1 *Vide* Pls. xxvii.-xxxii. of this volume, and p. 32.
2 *àm-às*, "He who is in the chamber."
3 *Vide* Pl. xxxii. and p. 36.
4 *Vide* Pl. xxix. and p. 32.
5 *Vide* Pl. xxxvi. and p. 38.
6 *Vide* Pls. xxxv. and xxxvi., and p. 39.
7 *Vide* Pl. xxvi. and cp. p. 30.

1 *Vide* Pls. ii.-viii.*a*, and pp. 41-50.
2 *Vide* Pl. v. and p. 43.
3 *Vide* Pl. iv. and p. 47.
4 *Vide* Pl. xiv. and p. 57.
5 *Vide* Pls. ix.–xix., and pp. 51-62.
6 *Vide* Pls. xiv. and xvi., and pp. 58 and 60.
7 *Vide* Pl. xviii. and p. 62.

No. 2, and that the unnamed father in Tomb No. 2 is our Khety? This question probably can never now be answered satisfactorily; all would be in favour of a reply in the affirmative, if the name of Amenemhat's mother (Henu) did not differ from that of Khety's wife (Khnemhotep).

Since the families of Amenemhat and Khnemhotep (to be discussed below) supplied princes of the nome from the time of Amenemhat I. at the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, and we have shown on architectural and other grounds [1] that their tombs are later than those of the family of Baqt, we must place the latter in the XIth Dynasty. The style of the tomb of Khnemhotep I. is similar to that of Baqt I., so that probably the series is continuous, and we may put Khety at the end of the XIth Dynasty, and his ancestors here named may reach back a century or more amongst the royal Antefs and Mentuhoteps of Thebes.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF BAQT I.



[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., General Notice, § 3.

Family of Khnemhotep I.

KHNEMHOTEP I.

§ 7. (*a*) KHNEMHOTEP I. In the Great Inscription published in Part I. of the present memoir we read of the King Amenemhat I., the first monarch of the XIIth Dynasty, traversing Egypt in order that he might restore law and order in the country, which hints at the re-settlement of internal feuds in consequence of a change of dynasty. The inscription first of all tells us that he came in order to abolish wrong, "gloriously appearing even as the god Tum himself." [2] The special object of this royal progress was to define the boundaries of the territorial divisions and make a "Doomsday Book" of their extent, "that he might set right that which he had found ruined and restore that which one city had taken from its sister city, that he might cause one city to know its boundary with another city, establishing their landmarks as heaven; reckoning their waters according to that which was in the writings, apportioning according to that which was in antiquity, of the greatness of his love of right." [3]

It was on this occasion that the grandfather of Khnemhotep II., whom we have to treat as the founder of the princely family of Khnemhotep, was raised by the King to the position of an hereditary prince and created Administrator of the Eastern Desert in the city of Menat-Khufu. He was afterwards advanced to the princedom of the Oryx nome. Khnemhotep II. refers to these facts as well known, but did not consider it necessary to name the important personage whose grandson he himself was. Was not this the celebrated founder of his family, and were not his name and deeds recorded in his own tomb hard by? Unfortunately the hand of time has been at work, and the record had well-nigh perished when, in the course of our minute search

[2] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 36-46, and p. 59.

[3] *L.c.*, lines 39-46.

over the walls of many tombs, we found at length a biographical text, written in the first person, and corresponding to the above account in every detail as sign after sign was painfully identified. At first hardly anything was visible, but the finely coloured details of the picture-characters enabled us to restore the greater part, even where the outlines of the signs had been entirely destroyed. The record alluded to is painted upon the South-west wall of the main chamber of Tomb No. 14, and consists of eight horizontal lines of hieroglyphs. So much of the text as could be discerned has already been published,[1] and the following is a translation of that as far as it can be deciphered.

(1) The hereditary prince, the royal chancellor, the royal friend, the *Am-a,* the Great Chief of the Oryx Nome, Chamberlain, judge, &c., who has propitiated the cycle of gods in Herur. . . .

(2) . . . Stately in departing, who was ushered into the royal audience chamber between two high officers . . . . the truly known to the King, the prince, Khnemhotep, possessing the reward of worth.

O ye who live upon the earth, who love life, who hate

(3) death, who desire the King's regard, say ye: "A thousand loaves of bread, jugs of beer, oxen and fowl to the prince Khnemhotepa, justified."

I came forth from my city, I went out to my territory, never did I wrong any person. . . .

(4) . . . The sovereign, life, wealth, health to him, the King

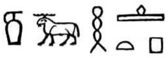
(5) . . . Sehotep-ab-Ra, son of Ra, Amenemhat I., who lives for ever, appointed me. . . . I embarked (?) with his majesty upon (?) a fleet of twenty ships built of acacia wood. . . .

(6) . . . Negroes . . . . Asiatics . . . (an expedition?) . . .

(7) . . . His majesty made me prince in the town of Menat-Khufu, my method was excellent in the heart of his majesty . . . thus I did benefit my city, I made excellent my territory. I organized it, making

(8) its great men into officers, its lesser men into servants, disciplining its young men . . .

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xliv.

In the Great Inscription is contained the whole history of the installation of this first  Khnemhotep. The King, we read, "placed him in the position of an hereditary prince and administrator of the Eastern desert in the town of Menat-Khufu, establishing for him the southern landmark [and] making firm the northern one like heaven; and divided for him the great river down its middle, apportioning its eastern half to the nome of the 'Rock of Horus' reaching to the Eastern desert."[2] Such was his first princedom; it was here that he "made excellent" his province, and that his "method was excellent in the heart of the King."

The same text records that he was afterwards made one of those "favoured by the royal hand," and created Great Chief of the Oryx nome.[3]

The name of Khnemhotep I.'s father is not recorded, but in an inscription on the North wall of his tomb his mother's name is given as  Baqt.[4] This name, and still more his own, indicates that Khnemhotep I. was a native of the district with which we are dealing, but what his position may have been before Amenemhat I. brought him forward we cannot say. His wife, named  Sat-ap, was "an hereditary princess," and she is also described as "mistress of all women" and "wife of a *haq*-prince."[5] The last title is, of course, due to her marriage with Khnemhotep I., but the first was a title in her own right, and may, perhaps, indicate that she was an heiress of a noble family. By her,

[2] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 24-46, and p. 58.

[3] *L.c.,* Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 46-53, and p. 59.

[4] *L.c.,* Pl. xlvi.

[5] *L.c.,* Part I., Pl. xlvi.

Khnemhotep I. had issue two children, a son and a daughter.

NEKHT.

The name of the former was  Nekht, and he succeeded his father in the princedom of Menat-Khufu "by the great favour of the King Usertsen I."[1] "He appointed his son, his eldest, Nekht, justified," runs the inscription, "to the princedom, namely, his inheritance in the town of Menat-Khufu, by the command of the majesty of the King Usertsen I." In his tomb (No. 21) he is further entitled "Administrator of the Eastern desert."[2] He appears to have died childless. The princedom of the Oryx nome, however, did not devolve upon Nekht, or if so, only for a short period, as we find the Great Chiefdom of the nome in the hands of another noble family as early as the eighteenth year of Usertsen I. (see below, on the family of Amenemhat),[3] and we have no evidence of its having been afterwards restored to the Khnemhotep family.

BAQT.

Khnemhotep I.'s daughter, Baqt,[4] named after her maternal grandmother, married an hereditary prince named  Nehera, "the son of Sebekankh."[5] This Nehera was *haq*-prince of a neighbouring district called the "New Towns," which are mentioned in some tombs at Sheikh Said, not far distant.[6] He was also *Mat* of the King of Upper Egypt and *Amt* of the King of Lower Egypt (probably meaning the *Alpha* and *Omega* to the King[7]), qualified by the phrase, "for his office of town-governor," which seems to imply that he was ruler of the royal city itself, probably the Het-Sehotep-ab-Ra of Amenemhat I., mentioned elsewhere, and discussed in the section on Geography.[8] The marriage is briefly noted: "My mother," says Khnemhotep II., "proceeded to Het-Sehotep-ab-Ra to be wife of the hereditary prince and governor of the New Towns, Nehera."[9] Of this latter personage's history we know but little. That he was of noble origin is proved by the fact, stated in the Great Inscription, that "he ruled his city when a babe at the time of its circumcision and performed the royal mission with waving plumes of office, as a child at his mother's breast."[1] The same text also tells us that he made for himself a *Ka*-house in the City of Mernefert (possibly in the neighbourhood of Dêr el-Bersheh) in good stone of Anu (limestone), "in order that he might root his name to eternity and make it endure for ever."[2] We shall have more to say about him in the memoir on the tombs of El-Bersheh.

KHNEMHOTEP II.

Khnemhotep I.'s eldest son, Nekht, having died without issue, and the direct male line failing, the princedom devolved, through his daughter Baqt, upon her eldest son, who was named after his grandfather.[3] It was for this son that Tomb No. 3[4] was excavated, and to the autobiographical inscription incised beneath the wall-paintings of its main chamber we owe most of our knowledge of this ancient and princely family. He tells us that in excavating this tomb he was only following in the footsteps of his father. "My first honour," he says, "was in establishing for myself a tomb-chapel, for, as the saying goes, a man should imitate the acts of his father."[5] It is also stated that the tomb was made so that

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 54-62, and p. 60.

[2] *Vide* Pl. xxii.A.

[3] See p. 13 of the present volume.

[4] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 4 and 74.

[5] *Vide l.c.*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 62-71 and Pl. xxvi., line 189.

[6] *Vide l.c.*, p. 60, note 2.

[7] *Vide l.c.*, note 3.

[8] See p. 21.

[9] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., line 69.

[1] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., lines 184-192, and p. 65.

[2] *L.c.*, lines 170-184.

[3] *L.c.*, Pl. xxv., lines 14-24.

[4] *L.c.*, Pls. xxii.-xxxviii., and pp. 39-72.

[5] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., lines 170-173.

in it might be recorded for ever the occupations of himself, his family, and his entire retinue.[1] Giving a detailed account of his life, he informs us that he was "a noble directly from his birth." His mother, we read, was taken to the royal city or palace of Amenemhat,[2] named Het-sehotep-ab-ra, to be married to Nehera; and Khnemhotep II. himself also says in another place,[3] that he was an adopted child of the King and brought up by him. He inherited his grandfather's princedom in the nineteenth year of the reign of Amenemhat II. The King, he says, "raised me, as son of a *ha*-prince, to inherit the princedom of the father of my mother, of the greatness of his love of right, verily he was the god Tum himself. Placed he me to the position of a *ha*-prince in the year XIX, in the town of Menat-Khufu."[4] The sixth year of the reign of Usertsen II., the latest date found in his tomb,[5] shows us Khnemhotep still acting as *ha*, and receiving the tribute of the foreigners. As Amenemhat II. reigned at least thirty-five years, this prince must therefore have ruled the city for at least twenty-two years, if there was no co-regency of the kings. Continuing to speak in the first person, he tells us of his good deeds. "I arose," he says, "and made the city rich, and stores of all things accumulated in it. I made to flourish the name of my father; I established the chapels of his *Kas*, I conducted my statues to the temple, and I offered them their offerings. I appointed a *Ka*-servant (to attend to the sacrifices at the tomb), and endowed him with lands and serfs. I decreed the funerary offerings at every feast of the necropolis," and then he enumerates all the festival days on which offerings were to be given.[6] He concludes the paragraph by a curse levelled at those who may disobey his commands. "Moreover," he says, "if any *Ka*-servant or any person disarranges these feasts, may he cease to exist and may his son cease to exist upon his seat."[7]

As to his character, he insists upon the piety of his actions to his fathers, and his care in restoring the inscriptions letter for letter.[8]

The royal favours shown to him by the King were very numerous. "Great was my praise in the palace," he remarks, "more than any courtier. He promoted me from amongst his nobles so that I attained a place in front of those who had been in front of me (*i.e.* over the heads of his seniors). Never before was a servant so honoured by his master."[9] But, as Khnemhotep II. naïvely adds, "he knew the carefulness of my speech and the moderation of my character" (to paraphrase slightly). He concludes with pride: "Thus I was a trusty servant of the King; my praise was before his nobles and my favour in the sight of the courtiers."[1] Among his civil titles may be enumerated "*ha*-prince in the great house,"[2] "chief of all princes,"[3] and in one place we read that he was *mat* of the King of Upper Egypt and *amt* of the King of Lower Egypt "for his office of town-governor."[4] These latter titles, it will be remembered, were held by his father Nehera, and would seem to imply that he was not merely governor of his own city of Menat-Khufu, but of the royal city itself.

The public works undertaken by him are enumerated in somewhat general terms in the last twenty-nine lines of the Great Inscription,[5] but the text is very carelessly written,

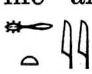
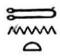
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[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 4-13.
[2] *L.c.*, lines 62-71.
[3] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxii.
[4] *L.c.*, Pl. xxv., lines 72-79.
[5] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxviii., fig. 2.

[6] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 82-96.
[7] *L.c.*, lines 97-99.
[8] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., lines 161-169.
[9] *L.c.*, lines 100-112.
[1] *L c.*, lines 113-120.
[2] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxv.
[3] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxiii.
[4] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxiii.
[5] *Vide* Pl. xxvi., lines 193-222.

and the exact meaning of many of the words unknown. The reader is, therefore, referred to the inscription itself, or to the translation of it printed on pages 65-66 of Part I. of this memoir.

Khnemhotep was a great hunter, and renowned for his skill in fishing. On the north wall of his tomb he is represented accompanied by his sons, hunting wild animals in the desert,[1] and among his "descriptive titles" we read that he was "great in fish, rich in wild-fowl, and loving the goddess of the chase."[2] Above the entrance to his shrine we see him seated behind a clump of reeds and holding in his hand a cord which is attached to a clap-net.[3] "Hidden by the screen," runs the inscription descriptive of the scene, "he closes the great clap-net." Again, in the right-hand side of the shrine doorway there is a picture of the great hunter in a canoe upon the water spearing fish with a kind of bident harpoon.[4] The inscription above reads appropriately, "canoeing in the papyrus beds, the pools of wild-fowl, the marshes and the streams, by Khnemhotep, the chief canoer in the papyrus beds and pools of wild-fowl, capturing birds and fish; spearing with the bident he transfixes thirty fish (?); how delightful is the day of hunting the hippopotamus!" Upon the corresponding portion of the east wall of his tomb Khnemhotep is depicted fowling with the throw-stick and accompanied by his family.[5]

Several facts relating to the private history of this great prince can be gleaned from the inscriptions. The date of his marriage, however, is not recorded, though the inscriptions have much to tell us of his married life and family. He married a princess  Khety,[6] and had a servant-concubine  Zat,[7] who is described in the tomb of her son by the more honourable title *nebt per*, "Lady of a house."[8] Khety was the daughter of a certain (unnamed) *ha*-prince and governor of the Jackal nome, by his wife  Thent.[9] Among her titles may be noted *ha*-princess, royal acquaintance, and priestess of Hathor and of Pakht. In Tomb No. 23 she is further described as an hereditary princess, one whom her husband loved, and mistress of her house and people."[1] She was, no doubt, buried in the same tomb as her husband. By her Khnemhotep had issue seven children, four sons and three daughters.

The eldest son  Nekht inherited, NEKHT II.
through his mother Khety and by favour of Usertsen II., his maternal grandfather's titles together with the princedom of the Jackal nome.[2] To him also was given the inheritance of Kha-Ra(?),[3] and by Usertsen II. he was made the "leader of the southern land."[4] On his installation into his maternal grandfather's inheritance the limits of the province were re-established by the King, just as those of his paternal grandfather's nome had been fixed by Amenemhat I. The landmarks, it is stated, were set up "upon the meadows of the low-lying ground," and amounted in all to fifteen.[5] The northern one was the boundary to the nome of Oxyrhynchus; the southern one the boundary to the Oryx nome.[6] The Jackal nome, how-

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xxx.
[2] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxiv.
[3] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxiii.
[4] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxiv.
[5] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxii.
[6] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxv.

[7] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xxxv.
[8] *L.c.,* p. 7.
[9] *Vide l.c.,* Pl. xxxv., and cp. lines 123-125 of the Great Inscription, Pl. xxvi.
[1] *Vide* Pl. xxiv. of the present volume.
[2] *Vide Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xxvi., lines 121-150.
[3] *L.c.,* Pl. xxxv. The import of this is obscure.
[4] This title occurs again in the quarries of Hetnub (Blackden and Fraser, *Hieratic Graffiti at Hat-nub,* Nos. x., xi.).
[5] *Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. xxvi., lines 139-143.
[6] *L.c.,* line 144, and cp. lines 49 and 50 of the same text.

ever, did not embrace the land on the eastern side of the valley, for the inscription tells us that the great river-valley was "divided down its middle, its western half being given to the Jackal nome, reaching as far as the western hills."[1]

KHNEMHOTEP III

The second son (or perhaps a twin brother of Nekht),[2] named Khnemhotep III., inherited his father's princedom of Menat-Khufu,[3] and, at his father's request, was created by Usertsen II. a confidential friend of the King and Superintendent of the frontier,[4] an office of considerable importance in the Southern Country. As such, he probably collected the tribute from foreign nations, and he is described as "abounding in tribute of the King."[5] As speaker and councillor he was unrivalled. He was the "unique mouth whose speech extinguisheth the speech of other mouths."[6] His tomb cannot be identified.

OTHER CHILDREN OF KHNEMHOTEP II.

Two other sons are mentioned in the inscription as having been born of Khnemhotep's first wife Khety. Their portraits and names (Nehera, and Neternekht) are given on the south wall of the main chamber of their father's tomb.[7]

The daughters, named Baqt, Thent, and Meres,[8] were priestesses of Hathor and of Pakht, and one of them, probably the eldest, was given the princedom of a city named ,[9] which was apparently within the family possessions.[1]

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxvi., lines 144-146.
[2] He is called *Ky ur* "the other eldest." *L.c.*, line 150.
[3] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxii.
[4] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., lines 150-160.
[5] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., lines 153-4.
[6] *L.c.*, lines 154-159.
[7] Tomb No. 3, *vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxv.
[8] *L.c.* Pl. xxxv.
[9] This town is mentioned in an inscription at Siut (Griffith, *Siut*, Tomb III., line 16, Pl. xi.), and was the northern limit of the army of the South from Elephantine to that place. The name cannot be read.
[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxii.

By his second wife, Zat, Khnemhotep had three children. She was a woman of humble origin, at first merely a "handmaiden," who probably occupied much the same position with regard to Khnemhotep that Leah's and Rachel's maidens, Zilpah and Bilhah, did to Jacob.[2] The youngest of the children of this marriage, named Khnemhotep,[3] must be "the hereditary prince Khnemhotep, born of Zat," who was buried in Tomb No. 4.[4] Nothing is recorded of the history of the two other children but their names, which were Nehera (a son) and Sat-ap (a daughter).[5]

OTHER RELATIONS OF KHNEMHOTEP II.

Tomb No. 23[6] appears to have been dedicated by Khnemhotep II. to an ancestor, Neternekht, who was "an hereditary prince, royal chancellor, Administrator of the Eastern Desert and Superintendent of the priests of Horus, the smiter of the Rekhit." He is represented in a painting on the East wall of his tomb, standing between his mother Arythotep, a "priestess of Hathor in Aryt," and his wife Herab, who was "an acquaintance of the King" and priestess of the same goddess. The inscriptions above them show that all three were established in the same nome as Khnemhotep II., but their degree of relationship to him is doubtful. He calls Neternekht his "father," but this is a description applicable perhaps to every ancestor. Khnemhotep II. is also represented here, and behind him his wife and another woman named "Khety, born of Khu," doubtless some

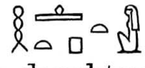
[2] Cf. Genesis xxix. 17-35.
[3] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxv.
[4] *L.c.*, p. 7.
[5] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxv.
[6] *Vide* Pls. xxiii. and xxiv., and p. 27 of this volume.

relation. There were several smaller figures represented in this interesting wall-painting, but these are almost entirely destroyed, and it is impossible to say whether any of them were children of Khnemhotep. It would appear that the painting in this tomb was executed before those of Tomb No. 3, in which Khnemhotep II. was buried.

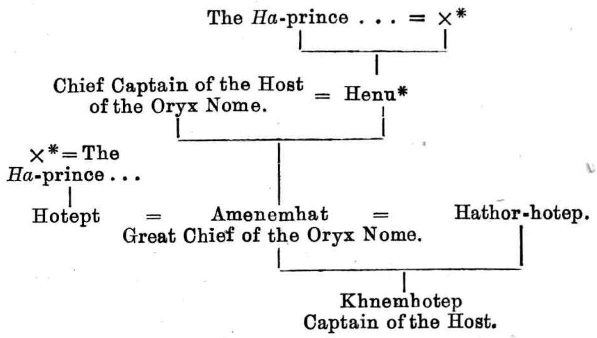
The family relationships are shown in a tabular form on the next page.

Family of Amenemhat.

(*b*) Amenemhat. The tomb of the prince whose history we have now to consider bears on the doorway a date in the forty-third year of the reign of Usertsen I.,[1] and consequently takes us back to the last years of the second king of the XIIth Dynasty. Furthermore, this year is stated to correspond with the twenty-fifth year of Amenemhat's rule in the Oryx nome,[2] so that the duration of his governorship extended from the eighteenth to the forty-third year of Usertsen I.

Of Amenemhat's family history but very little is recorded. His father's name is unfortunately not given, but a passage in the Biographical Inscription,[3] which is incised upon the jambs of the entrance doorway of the tomb, informs us that he was a *ha*-prince, and, by implication, "Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt," and "Chief Captain of the host of the Oryx nome." Amenemhat's mother, named  Henu,[4] was a daughter of a *ha*-prince, and consequently of noble descent. His wife, by name  Hotept,[5] was, like his mother, the daughter of a *ha*-prince, a priestess of Hathor of Neferus, and of Pakht of the Speos-valley; she is further described as "the true royal acquaintance." There is no record of any children of Hotept, but the "eldest son" of Amenemhat, "born of Hathorhotep," appears twice.[6] It is difficult to identify Hotept with ; possibly this son was adopted, or Amenemhat may have taken a second wife. Hathorhotep's name is without any titles. Her son was named Khnemhotep, and is described as "Captain of the Host," "confidential friend of the King," and the "true royal acquaintance in the south."[7]

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF AMENEMHAT.



Several interesting facts regarding the life and character of Amenemhat are given in his Biographical Inscription. We have mentioned above that his tomb is dated in the 43rd year of Usertsen I.; and further, that he began to rule in the Oryx nome in the eighteenth year of the same king's reign. In the last six lines of his autobiography he tells us of his character and conduct as a ruler :—

I was a possessor of favour, abounding in love, a ruler beloved of his city. Moreover, I passed years as governor in the Oryx nome, so that all the works of the King's house came into my hands. Behold, the superintendents of the gangers of the domains of the herdsmen of the Oryx nome gave to me 3000 bulls of their draught stock; I was praised for it in the King's house. At each annual occasion of stocktaking, I rendered all their produce to the palace:

[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 1-4.

[2] *L.c.*, line 3.

[3] *L.c.*, lines 7-8.

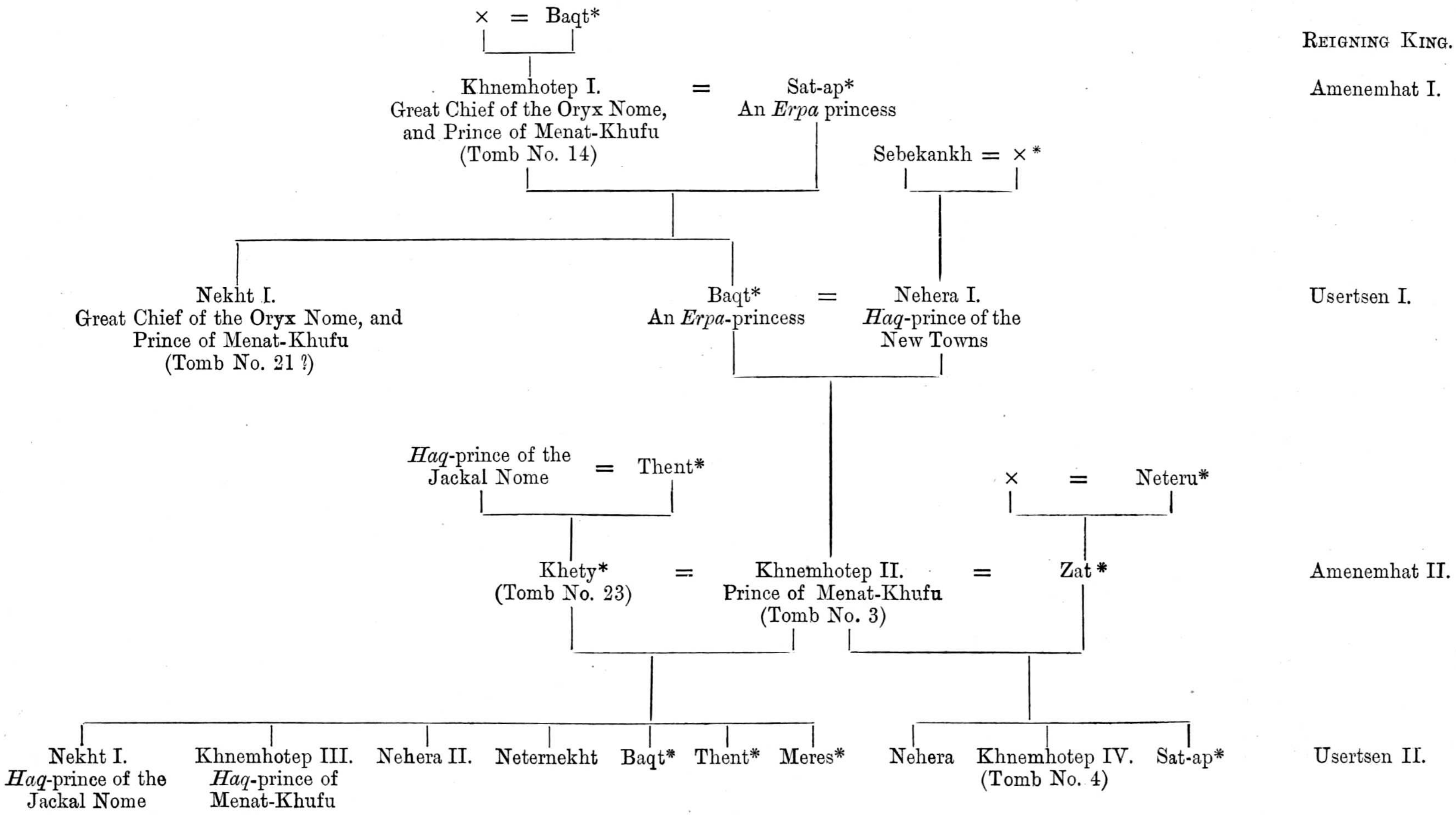
[4] *Vide l.c.*, Pl. vii., left-hand door-post, line 1; compare also p. 36 of the same volume.

[5] *Vide l.c.*, Pl. xviii., and p. 36.

[6] Pl. xvii., where the mother's name is given, and Pl. xix.

[7] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xvii.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF KHNEMHOTEP I.



there were no arrears to me in any of his offices. I worked the Oryx nome to its boundary, in numerous visits. Not the daughter of a poor man did I wrong; not a widow did I oppress; not a farmer did I beat; not a herdsman did I drive off. There was not a foreman of five men from whom I took his men from the works. There was not a pauper around me; there was not a hungry man of my time. When there came years of famine, I arose, I ploughed all the fields of the Oryx nome to its southern and to its northern boundary. I made to live its inhabitants, making its provision; so that there was no hungry man in it. I gave to the widow as to her that possessed a husband; I did not favour the elder above the younger in all that I gave. When thereafter great inundations took place, producing wheat and barley, producing all things abundantly, I did not exact the arrears of the farm.[1]

A few ideas regarding Amenemhat's personal character can also be gleaned from his descriptive titles. He boasts that he was truthful ("he spake words of truth"),[2] upright ("free of planning evil"[3] and "clear of speaking fraud"),[4] and long-suffering.[5] Beloved not only of his people,[6] but also of the officials[7] and nobles[8] of the palace. He admitted everyone to audience,[9] and assisted passing travellers.[1] He encouraged the timid man,[2] but, as a judge, was unbiassed.[3] Speaking the right when he judged between two disputants,[4] he thus gained reverence among his people.[5] A courtier of judgment and tact, "knowing the place of his foot in the house of the King,"[6] he was "careful of his going among his equals"[7] and "long-suffering in the midst of the nobles."[8] Celebrated for his ability in "recognizing the means of accomplishing things,"[9] he was appealed to in times of difficulty for "finding order in its entanglement."[1] He is also described as "a master in the art of causing writing to speak,"[2] a great hunter,[3] and "superintendent of the pools of sport."[4]

In the Biographical Inscription three expeditions to the South are recorded, in all of which Amenemhat played an important part. The first was to Ethiopia, when he accompanied the King in the capacity of "Chief Captain of the host of the Oxyx nome," which he assumed as deputy of his aged father.

"I followed my lord," he tells us, "when he sailed up the river to overthrow his enemies in the four foreign lands.[5] I sailed up as the son of a prince, the treasurer, chief captain of the host of the Oryx nome, as a man replaces an aged father according to the favours in the King's house and his love in the palace."[6]

He "passed through Ethiopia in sailing

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1 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 15-21, pp. 26-27.
2 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., right-hand doorpost, line 3, p. 23.
3 *L.c.*, same line.
4 *L.c.*, Pl. ix., Southern Architrave, Eastern half, p. 28.
5 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., Lintel, line 4, p. 29.
6 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., right-hand doorpost, line 2, p. 23, and Pl. xv., line 10, p. 29.
7 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., line 3, p. 29.
8 *L.c.*, Pl. ix., line 7, p. 28.
9 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., line 2, p. 23.
1 *L.c.*, line 2, p. 23.
2 *L.c.*, line 2, p. 23.
3 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., line 2, p. 28.
4 *L.c.*, Pl. ix., Southern Architrave, Eastern half, p. 28.
5 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., line 3, p. 28.

6 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xv., line 6, p. 29.
7 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., line 2, p. 28.
8 *L.c.*, Pl. xv., line 7, p. 29.
9 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., right-hand doorpost, line 3, p. 23.
1 *L.c.*, Pl. ix., Southern Architrave, Eastern half, p. 28.
2 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., line 4, p. 22.
3 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., right-hand doorpost, line 4, p. 23.
4 *L.c.*, Pl. vii., Lintel, line 5, p. 22.
5 Probably the Negro lands mentioned in the inscriptions of Una and Herkhuf (VIth Dynasty). In Una's inscription we have Amam, Uauat, Arthet, and Meza; in Herkhuf's, Sethu appears to take the place of Meza. Their territory must have been situated on the east and west banks of the river from the First Cataract southward (see Maspero, *Rec. de Travaux*, vol., xv., p. 103).
6 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 6-8, p. 25.

southward," and went beyond the limits of the land hitherto known to the Egyptians.

"I brought the tribute of my lord," he continues, "my praise it reached up to heaven. His majesty arose and proceeded in peace. He overthrew his enemies in the vile land of Ethiopia. I returned following his majesty as a man ready for any emergency. There was no loss among my soldiers." [1]

The second expedition was undertaken to obtain gold for Usertsen I. This time Amenemhat, with a band of 400 picked men of his army, accompanied the King's eldest son, who is here called Ameny, but was afterwards known as the King Amenemhat II. The precise destination of the expedition is not recorded.[2]

"I sailed up the river," he says, "to bring treasures of gold to the majesty of the King Usertsen I., living eternally, for ever.

"I sailed up with the hereditary prince, the eldest son of the King, Ameny, life, wealth, health to him! I sailed up in number 400 men consisting of every chosen man of my army. Returning back in peace they had not decreased. I brought the gold appointed to me. I was praised for it in the house of the King, and the King's son praised God for me." [3]

The third and last expedition mentioned in this interesting record was to the city of Coptos a few miles to the north of Thebes, and this time Amenemhat appears to have been accompanied by another royal personage, possibly the future Usertsen II.

"I arose, I sailed up the river to bring treasures to the City of Coptos with the hereditary prince, governor of the royal town, the wezîr, Usertsen, life, wealth, health to him! I sailed up in number 600 men, consisting of every valiant man of the Oryx nome. I returned in peace, my army safe and sound; I accomplished all that I was ordered to do." [4]

Dated Events.

In the inscriptions at Beni Hasan we have met with the names of several Kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The following conspectus of dateable events will be found useful:—

Khnemhotep I. is created Great Chief of the Oryx Nome and Prince of Menat-Khufu, by -	Amenemhat I.
Nekht I. inherits his father Khnemhotep I.'s titles, which are ratified by - - - -	Usertsen I.
Amenemhat begins to rule in the Oryx nome in - - - - - - - -	18 Usertsen I.
and dies in - - - -	43 Usertsen I. 1 Amenemhat II.
Khnemhotep II. inherits his grandfather's princedom of Menat-Khufu in the - - -	19 Amenemhat II.
which he still retains in the - - - - -	38 Amenemhat II. 6 Usertsen II.
Nekht II. inherits his maternal grandfather's princedom of the Jackal Nome, which is confirmed to him by - - - - - - -	Usertsen II.

GEOGRAPHY.

§ 8. At a very early period the land of Egypt was divided into two great principalities: the southern one was called *Qemâu*, "the South land," or Upper Egypt; the

[1] *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 8-11, p. 25.

[2] It was perhaps to Nubia. There is an inscription upon a stela in the British Museum (No. 569, Sharpe, *Eg. Insc.*), of nearly the same period, which records the expedition of a certain Hathorsa to Nubia in search of gold.

[3] *L.c.*, lines 11-14, pp. 25-26.

[4] *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 14-15, pp. 26.

northern one *Ta-meḥ*, "the North land," or Lower Egypt. These two states were subdivided into what the Egyptians called [hieroglyph] *ḥesept*, "provinces," the *νομοι*, or "nomes," of the Greek geographers. In Lower Egypt there were twenty-two of these subdivisions; in Upper Egypt twenty. The Necropolis of Beni Hasan was situated within the southern principality, in the XVIth subdivision, which was called by the Egyptians [hieroglyph] *Maḥez*,[1] "the Oryx nome." Several of its governors were buried in the tombs described in the present memoir, and their inscriptions throw considerable light upon its geography.

The Oryx Nome.

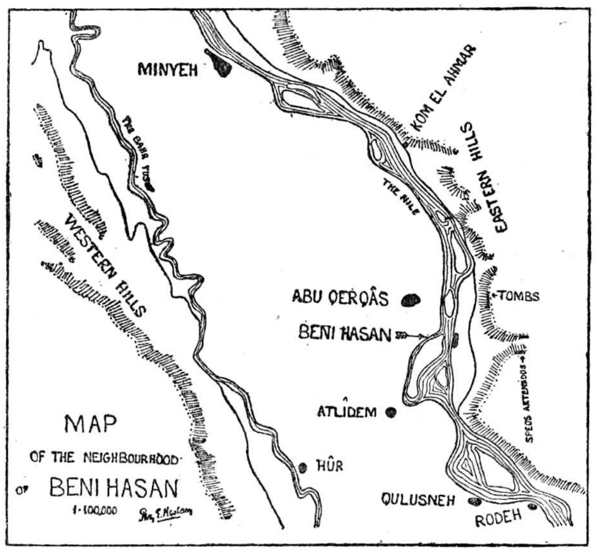


FIG. 4. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BENI HASAN.

An early mention of the Oryx nome is found at Zauyet-el-Maiyitîn, in the tomb of a certain "royal acquaintance" named [hieroglyphs] Khunes, who was its governor at the time of the VIth Dynasty.[2] The Great Inscription of Khnemhotep II. records[3] how the kings of the XIIth Dynasty reorganized the nomes in this part of Egypt, restoring their ancient boundaries and defining the territory of their cities. The same text names the boundaries. On the north was the Jackal or Cynopolite nome, on the south the Hare or Hermopolite nome. "He (the king) set up the landmarks," runs the inscription, "the southern one as his boundary to the Hare nome, the northern one as his boundary to the Jackal nome."[4] Further, "he divided the great river-valley down its middle, its waters, its fields, its wood, its sands, as far as the western desert."[5] The land on the eastern half of the valley was generally included in the Oryx nome,[6] but it appears from this passage and from the context that in the time of Amenemhat I. it constituted a separate district, called [hieroglyphs] *Ṭut-Ḥeru*, "the Rock of Horus," perhaps with Menat-Khufu as capital. The king divided for Khnemhotep, we are told, "the great river-valley down its middle, and apportioned its eastern half to the nome of Dut-Heru, reaching to the Eastern Desert."[7] Some idea of the population of the province in the time of Usertsen I. may be deduced from the fact that Amenemhat levied a troop of six hundred men, "consisting of every valiant man of the

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[1] The Egyptian name of the Oryx is [hieroglyphs] *Maḥez*, but the reading of the nome sign is not so certain. It is probable, however, that it should likewise be read *Maḥez*, and that this name is identical with [hieroglyphs] *Meḥt*, which appears in the Ptolemaic nome lists as the sacred capital of the XVIth province. The change from *Maḥez* to *Meḥt* would not be difficult to explain.

[2] *Vide* Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 107.

[3] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 36-45 *et seq.*, and p. 59.

[4] *L.c.*, lines 48-50.

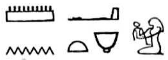
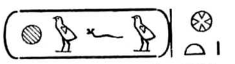
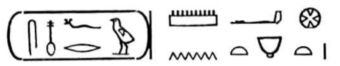
[5] *L.c.*, lines 51-53.

[6] This is implied by the title of several of the princes, [hieroglyphs] "Great Chief of the Oryx nome *to its entirety*," which occurs in many of the earlier tombs at Beni Hasan.

[7] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 33-36, and p. 59.

Oryx nome";[1] and the thriving condition of the country is clearly stated in the Biographical Inscription in Tomb No. 2, where it is asserted that there was not to be found "a hungry man in it."[2] An annual tax of three thousand bulls, collected from the draught stock of the herdsmen of the nome,[3] also points to the prosperous condition of the district at that early period.

MENAT-KHUFU.

A number of cities are mentioned in the inscriptions, but perhaps the most interesting is that one which was named   Menat-Khufu, "the nursing-city of Khufu." So far as can be gathered from the inscriptions, this was not the capital of the whole nome, but only of the eastern portion (Ṭut-Heru). The name "Nursing-city of Khufu," would imply that it was founded at a very early period, for this Khufu is the celebrated second king of the IVth Egyptian Dynasty and the builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh. An estate of the same kind, called after Khufu's predecessor,  Menat Seneferu, "the Nursing-city of Seneferu," is mentioned in a very ancient tomb near Seneferu's pyramid at Mêdûm, not far from Wasṭa in Middle Egypt.[4]

The name of Menat-Khufu occurs in the Historical Inscription in Tomb No. 14, where Khnemhotep I. is mentioned as having been raised to the *ha*-princedom of the city.[5] To this title his son Nekht succeeded,[6] and Khnemhotep II. afterwards inherited the princedom in the nineteenth year of Amenemhat II.[7] We then read of him making the city "rich, so that stores of all things accumulated in it."

The only other reference to the city of Menat-Khufu is in a graffito cut upon a rock in the Wady Hammâmât, the great desert road which leads from Coptos to the Red Sea. It takes us back a little earlier than the account of Khnemhotep I., being dated by the cartouche of the fourth Mentuhotep of the XIth Dynasty. It is of considerable interest, and we may be excused for reproducing it from Lepsius' copy (see Fig. 5).

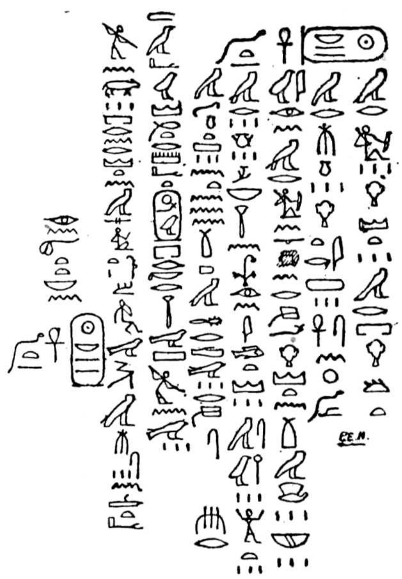


FIG. 5. INSCRIPTION OF SE-ANKH.

"The Captain of the host in the desert, steward of the house in Egypt, superintendent of the . . . . on the river, Se-ankh says:—[8]

"I am captain of the host in this whole land

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[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., lines 14-15, and p. 26.

[2] *L.c.*, line 20, and p. 27. [3] *L.c.*, line 16, and p. 26.

[4] The paintings and inscriptions of this tomb have been published by Professor Petrie in his volume on *Mêdûm*, Pl. xix., and cf. p. 39.

[5] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xliv., line 7.

[6] *L.c.*, Pl. xxv., lines 54-57, and p. 60.

[7] Part I., Pl. xxv., lines 78-79, and p. 61.

[8] The text is published in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 149, *g*. The following transliteration of it may be useful to our readers:—*Mer meshā ḥer set, mer per ḥer Kemt, mer mesnu (?) ḥer ātru, Se-ānkh zed: āu ār-nā mer meshā en ta pen er zer-ef ḥer set ten, āper em khāu (?) nebu (?) em ta ḥeqt renp neb uāz en qemāu: ār-nā ānt-es em uzu qat-es em nut ent mu āper . . . . em khreṭu[-ā] er zer-es khent er Thaāu meḥti er Menāt-Khufu per k[uā] er Uaz-ur set-n[ā] apṭu set-n[ā] keḥesu per-n[ā] er set ten em se en renpet* XC *khreṭu* LXX *em mesu en uāt: ār-n[ā] metet neb en Neb-taui-Ra, ānkh zet.*

(Egypt) upon this mountain, provided with all kinds of implements (?) and with bread and beer and every green herb of the south: I have made its valleys into land-marks, its heights into pools of water, peopling it with my progeny throughout: south to Thaau, north to Menat-Khufu. I have gone forth to the sea (Red Sea). I hunted fowls, I hunted gazelles. I have come out to this mountain as a man of ninety years, [with] seventy children, the issue of one wife. I did everything that was right (?) to the King Neb-taui-Ra (Mentuhotep IV.) living eternally."

This quaint record gives us a hint of the importance of the town of Menat-Khufu, and as to its situation indicates that it was a boundary of the eastern desert, thus proving that the Nile did not run between it and the hills. It must therefore be looked for on the east bank, or perhaps actually upon the desert edge. Unfortunately, however, our present knowledge is insufficient to enable us to identify the site with any precision. Champollion suggested that it might be the Coptic ⲧⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, ⲧⲙⲱⲛⲏ, the Arabic المنية Minyeh,[1] and his identification has been followed by Brugsch[2] and Dümichen[3]; while the learned editor of Baedeker's *Upper Egypt* considers that the ancient city was situated immediately east of Minyeh, on the opposite bank of the river.[4] Long before this, however, Jomard, a member of the scientific staff of Napoleon's expedition, published it as his opinion[5] that some mounds which formerly stood a short distance to the south of Abu Qerqâs, and were known by the name of العنبجا El-'Anbaga,[6] marked the site of the town of which the tombs of Beni Hasan form the Necropolis. In all probability Menat-Khufu was this town, and Maspero[7] has adopted Jomard's suggestion. His statement cannot, however, be verified, for the mounds have all disappeared.

HEBNU.

To the north of Menat-Khufu and upon the same side of the river was  Hebnu, a town which, according to the inscriptions, was an important religious centre, with a temple dedicated to Horus.[8] The worship of Horus at this locality is mentioned in inscriptions of various periods[9] from the time of King Pepy of the VIth Dynasty, and the importance of the city was such that it was the religious centre of the whole Oryx nome from the earliest times. In a tomb at Zauyet el-Maiyitîn, in the eastern cliff about four miles south of Minyeh,

[1] *Notices Manuscrites*, T. ii., pp. 432-433.

[2] *Geogr. Ins.*, T. i., p. 224, and *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 255, 256, 1173.

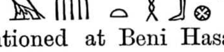
[3] *Geschichte Ægyptens*, pp. 191-192.

[4] *Ober-Ægypten*, p. 3.

[5] Jomard, *Description des Antiquités de l'Heptanomide*, in the *Description de l'Egypt*, T. iv., p. 349-350.

[6] Jomard, *Description des Antiquités de l'Heptanomide*, in the *Description de l'Egypt*, T. iv., pp. 349-350:—"Le nom d'*el-'Anbagé* العنبجا (ou *el-'Anbagyé* العنبجيا) est donné à des ruines inconnues et d'une étendue fort considérable, situées dans la plaine de la rive gauche du Nil, en face des grottes sépulcrales de Beny-Hasan, entre le village de Koum el-Zohayr et celui de Menchât-Da'bes. La longueur totale de cet espace depuis Koum-Beny-Dâoud, au nord, jusqu'à l'extrémité sud, n'a pas moins de cinq mille mètres. Trois buttes élevées se remarquent dans cet intervalle; le terrain qui les sépare, quoique moins exhaussé, domine encore sur la plaine, et il est recouvert lui-même de décombres et de débris. . . . Aujourd'hui la grande route passe par le milieu de ces ruines, qu'on traverse pendant plus d'une heure, sans rencontrer un seul village. . . . La plus étendue des buttes de ruines est celle du Sud: on y trouve beaucoup de pierres taillées, et des briques cuites, d'une grande dimension. J'ai vu un mur, enfoui bien avant sous les décombres, large d'un mètre et demi; il est bâti très-solidement, et formé avec ces grandes briques. A mesure qu'une colline s'abaisse et que l'inondation atteint jusqu'au sol (ce qui arrive par l'exhaussement croissant du fond du Nil), on y introduit la charrue, on ensemence, et les ruines disparaissent."

[7] *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. xiii., p. 504.

[8]  "Horus within Hebnu" is often mentioned at Beni Hasan. *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. vii., *et seq.*

[9] *Vide* Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 111. *Pap. Bul.*, No. 3, Pl. iv., line 23. Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 490, &c.

there is an inscription which enables us to determine its site. It is the prayer of a "confidential friend of the king," Khnem-hotep, for "a good burial *in Hebnu*, as a devoted servant of Horus within Hebnu."[1] This shows that the town could not have been far distant, and we may identify it either with the present village of Sawâdeh at the foot of the hill in which the tomb containing the inscription has been cut, or perhaps see the actual remains of it on the edge of the desert half a mile south of the tombs, at Kôm el-Ahmar, where there are important mounds and a fragment of a column of Amenhotep III.

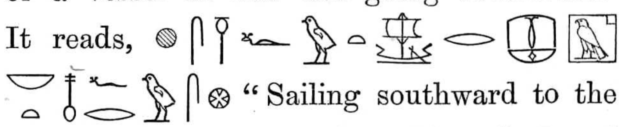
HERUR.

Another town frequently mentioned in the inscriptions at Beni Hasan, and one which it is still possible to locate, is that named Herur. It contained a famous temple dedicated to Khnem[2] and another to his consort the goddess Heqt. There can be little doubt that the ancient name still survives in the Arabic هور Hûr, a village built upon a high mound four miles to the south-west of the modern Beni Hasan.

SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.

The Set-valley ( ),[3] in which the goddess Pakht was worshipped, is noticed in two of the tombs, and was probably the valley behind Beni Hasan, containing the celebrated cave-temple dedicated to Pakht, and called by the Romans the Speos Artemidos.[4] It is known to the Arabs of the present day by the name of Sṭabl Anṭar.

NEFERUS.

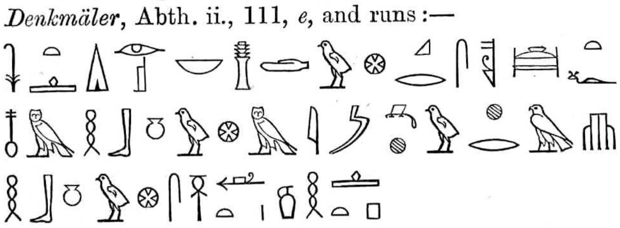
Neferus ( ) was also within the Oryx province, and was from an early period of considerable local importance. It contained as far back as the VIth Dynasty a temple dedicated to Hathor,[5] and is mentioned in connection with her worship down to Ptolemaic times.[6] Maspero supposes[7] that the modern اتليدم Atlîdem is built upon its ruins, but the only direct evidence that we have of its position is contained in an inscription in a tomb at Kôm el-Aḥmar, which indicates that it was to the south of that point. The inscription in question is contained in a single vertical line of hieroglyphs, and is explanatory of a picture of a vessel in full sail going southward.[8] It reads,  "Sailing southward to the festival of the goddess Hathor, Lady of Neferus." This southward voyage must have started from Kôm el-Ahmar.

ARYT, &C.

Two other localities connected with the worship of Hathor are mentioned in the inscriptions. These are Aryt,[9] and [1] "The island of Bu(?)." Brugsch[2] would identify the former with Alyi of the

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[1] The inscription has been published by Lepsius in his *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., 111, *e*, and runs:—



[2] Khnem is often called "Lord of Herur" (*vide* Pl. v.), and his consort "Heqt of Herur" (*vide* Pl. xv.).

[3] In Tomb No. 3, the name is spelt out with the phonetic determinatives of an animal and a knife, and the ideographic determinative of a hill or valley. *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxiv., Southern Architrave.

[4] *Itin. Anton.*, 167; and cp. Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.*, line 224.

[5] *Vide* Wilkinson's *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 414.

[6] Brugsch's *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 340.

[7] *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. xiii., pp. 515-517.

[8] It has been published by Wilkinson in his *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 414.

[9] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xvii., &c.

[1] *L.c.*, p. 85.

[2] *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 130.

Antonine Itinerary, but Maspero[1] places it farther south.  "The island of ..."[2] was also, perhaps, within the Oryx nome, but it is only mentioned twice in the inscriptions. It was connected with the worship of Khnem, who is also called Lord of  in Tomb No. 14.[3] None of these names are found elsewhere, and the reading of some of them is doubtful.

Cities of Egypt outside the Oryx nome.

It is necessary to add a few notes on the other geographical names that occur in the Beni Hasan inscriptions.

The north of the Oryx nome was bounded by the Jackal or Cynopolite nome;[4] the south by the Hare or Hermopolite nome.[5] The northern boundary of the former was the Oxyrhynchite province.[6]

MERNEFERT is known only from the Biographical Inscription of Khnemhotep II.;[7] it is perhaps to be identified with the modern Dêr el-Bersheh, a small village about fifteen miles south of Beni Hasan. HET-SEHOTEP-AB-RA is likewise mentioned but once in the same inscription.[8] The name means "the palace (?) of Amenemhat I.," and it may be another name for the Thet-taui, or Het-thet-taui, which is mentioned in the Turin papyrus and elsewhere as the residence of that king. The site of Thet-taui is unknown, but it was probably near the Fayûm. Het-sehotep-ab-ra may, however, be some other royal residence. [9] a name for which no reading has yet been found, is mentioned in a tomb at Asyût; it was evidently an important city like Menat-khufu, and must have been in Middle Egypt. KHARA[1] is perhaps a place-name, but is altogether doubtful. KEBTI (Coptos), the modern Ḳoft, is mentioned once, and is well known.[2]

Two city-names are commonly found closely associated in the titles (*ari Nekhen* and *ḥer ṭep Nekheb*) of judicial and other functionaries throughout Egypt, and occur thus in each of the inscribed tombs at Beni Hasan. These are the twin cities of Nekhen and Nekheb, placed opposite each other on the two banks of the Nile, and now represented by the ruins of Kôm el-Ahmâr and El-Kab. Nekheb was the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt.

The following sacred cities connected with the worship of the funerary gods are found in almost every tomb. UT (god Anubis) may have been one of the oases in the western desert; TATU (god Osiris) Busiris, the capital of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt; and ABTU (god Osiris) Abydos, the capital of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt.

Foreign lands and tribes.

KASH[3] (*Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., and p. 25), = Ethiopia, is a name frequently found in the inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom and later times. THE FOUR FOREIGN LANDS (*Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. viii., and p. 25), reached by a southward voyage, must have been in Ethiopia, and were probably the countries named Amam, Wawat, Arthet and Meza in earlier inscriptions. The remarkable group of foreigners figured in Tomb No. 14[4] may probably be referred to the LIBYANS, called the Themehu by the ancient Egyptians. AAMU is a well-known designation of the tribes on the north-east of Egypt and of the

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[1] *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. xiii., pp. 520-521.
[2] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. vii., and cf. p. 85 of the same volume.
[3] *L.c.*, p. 85.
[4] *L.c.*, Pl. xxv., line 51.
[5] *L.c.*
[6] *L.c.*, Pl. xxvi., line 144.
[7] *L.c.*, line 174.
[8] *L.c.*, Pl. xxiv., line 66.
[9] *L.c.*, Pl. xxxii.

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[1] *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxv.
[2] *L.c.*, Pl. viii.
[3] The Biblical כוש Kush.
[4] *L.c.*, Pls. xlv. and xlvii.

Asiatics. Those figured in the tomb of Khnemhotep II.[1] had perhaps wandered into the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea.

RELIGION.

§ 9. On the monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdom representations of divinities very rarely occur, and none are met with in the wall-paintings at Beni Hasan. There is, however, no lack of their names in the inscriptions, and a few interesting figures of them, on a small scale, occur in the hieroglyphs determining their names. Those that are named may be divided into three groups: the funerary deities, the local gods, and other divinities of less defined significance.

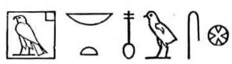
Funerary Deities.

To the first class belongs the great Osiris, *Khent Amentiu*, ruler of the departed spirits in the West, named the Lord of Busiris in the Delta, and of Abydos in Upper Egypt. He was the King of the Underworld and judge of the dead. Next there is Anubis, the embalmer, who is always represented in the form of a jackal. He is described as Lord of Tazeser ("the sacred land"), *tep ṭu-ef*, "He who is upon his hill," and *ȧm Ut*, "Within the City of embalming," perhaps, as Prof. Maspero has lately suggested,[2] one of the oases in the western desert. Thirdly, there is Ptah Socaris, entitled Lord of Heaven, and worshipped especially in the necropolis of Memphis. He is generally entitled in other inscriptions *neb shetyt*, "Lord of the sarcophagus." At Beni Hasan the prince Amenemhat is said to be one "worthy before Ptah Socaris," and the Great Chief Baqt is "beloved" of him.

[1] *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pls. xxviii., xxx., and xxxi.

[2] *Vide Journal Asiatique*, IX. Serie, t. i., p. 232-240. *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, tome ii., p. 421, "Le nom antique de la Grande-Oasis."

Local Deities.

The following gods take their titles from localities in the Oryx nome:—   "Horus within the city of Hebnu," the capital of the province. Amenemhat is described as "worthy before" him, and Khnemhotep I. "beloved of him."  "Khnem, Lord of Herur," is frequently mentioned. Amenemhat was "superintendent of the priests" of this god. Baqt I., Baqt III., and Khety are all described as "beloved" of the same deity, and Baqt III. as "worthy before" him. The consort of Khnem of Herur,  "Heqt of Herur," is also frequently alluded to in the Beni Hasan inscriptions: Baqt III., Khety, and Khnemhotep I. are all "beloved" of her; and Khety is described as *ḥesy*, "praised" of Heqt of Herur. Two local forms of the goddess Hathor are also mentioned. One was  "Hathor, Lady of Neferus," the other  "Hathor in Aryt:" Hotept, the wife of Amenemhat, was a priestess of the first; Henu, Amenemhat's mother, Amenemhat himself, Sat-ap the wife of Khnemhotep I., Baqt III., and Khnemhotep the wife of Khety, are all described as "worthy before" Hathor of Neferus. Khnemhotep I., Baqt III., and Khety are all mentioned as "beloved" of the same goddess. Henu, Amenemhat's mother, and Hotept his wife, are both named as "worthy before" Hathor in Aryt. Another local deity to be mentioned here was the leopard-goddess  "Pakht, Lady of the Speos Valley." The lady Hotept is called her "priestess," and Khnemhotep II. her "*uteb*-priest;" the lady Henu, and Khnemhotep II. are both described as "worthy before" Pakht.

Besides Horus of Hebnu, three other

forms of the god Horus are alluded to in the inscriptions. These are "Horus, smiter of men (*rekhyt*)," "He who is within Shent,"[1] and "Horus of the two scorpions." The first was probably a local form,[2] as he is rarely found elsewhere; Mr. Renouf considers him to be the sun-god at dawn in his destructive character.[3] The second is possibly connected with sport. He is mentioned once at Beni Hasan: Amenemhat is described as "a noble great of years in the house of *am shent*"[4] (i.e. a great sportsman?). "Horus of the two scorpions" may possibly be that form of him known at a later period as "Horus of the crocodiles," who is represented as a youthful deity, like the young Hercules, triumphant over dangerous animals. Amenemhat was a priest of this deity.[5]

Other Deities.

The ram-headed god, Khnem, is found as god of two localities, of which both the readings and situations are unknown, viz.:— [6] [7]: probably they are local. The goddess Hathor is referred to as [8] and [9] "Mistress of ....," both titles being obscure. Amenemhat is described as a priest of Shu, and of his consort Tefnet.[1] He was also a priest of "Anubis within the house of Shemsu,"[2] or "the follower," possibly a local form of the god. Khnemhotep II. was a "priest" (*hen neter*)[3] of Anubis. It is worth noting that to Khnemhotep II. the sun-god Tum is the type of a just and glorious king, for Amenemhat I. is described in the Great Inscription of Tomb No. 3 as "gloriously appearing even as the god Tum himself."[4] The god Geb (Seb) is once alluded to,[5] and Khety and Khnemhotep II. are both mentioned as "beloved of Sekhet () Mistress of sport."[6] Amenemhat is entitled "Regulator of the houses of the divine crown of Lower Egypt (?),"[7] and "Associate in the house" of the same goddess.[8] The meaning and reading of in these groups is doubtful.

The names of persons mentioned in the inscriptions are often compounded with those of deities. Khnemhotep occurs twenty-four times, Khnemnekht five, Khnememhat three, Khnemseankh twice, and Khnemaa and Khnemdez (?) once. Heqt occurs once in the compound name Heqt-hotep, Horus in Hor-hotep and Hor-maakheru, Amen in Amenemhat, Ptah in Per-ptah and Ptah-ankh, Sebek in She-Sebek and Sebek-ankh. Hathor occurs in Hathor-hotep, Menthu in Menthu-hotep, and Ut-en-Anpu is once mentioned.

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1 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., p. 22, footnote 1, and cp. Mariette's *Monuments Divers*, p. 96; Lanzone's *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, vol. iv., Tav. ccxvi. and ccxvii., which may be the same. An unpublished inscription at El-Bersheh gives the reading of for in the title *mer shent*. *Am shent* may be an expression for the "holder of the rope" in the fowling scenes, or for the holder of the tiller-rope in a boat.

2 Baqt I. is described as "making monuments of eternity in the temple of Horus Smiter of the Rekhyt." *Vide* Pl. xxii. and p. 39.

3 *Proc. S.B.A.*, vol. xii., pp. 460-1.

4 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. vii. and p. 22.

5 *L.c.*, Pl. vii. and pp. 22.

6 *L.c.*, Pl. vii. and p. 85.

7 *L.c.*, p. 85.

8 *L.c.*, Pl. xiii.

9 *L.c.*, p. 85.

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1 *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. vii.

2 *L.c.*, Pl. xvii. This form of Anubis is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Usertsen I., published in Mariette's *Abydos*, vol. ii., Pl. 23.

3 *Vide Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxv.

4 Line 37, and cp. line 75.

5 *L.c.*, Pl. xxxv.

6 *Vide* Pl. xviii. and p. 62, and *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. xxxiv. and p. 45.

7 *L.c.*, Pl. xvii.

8 *L.c.*, Pl. vii.

LIST OF
THE TOMBS AT BENI HASAN.

(Nos. 15-39.)

See Sketch Survey, *Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. ii.

TOMB No. 15.

Tomb of Baqt [III.] (*vide* detailed description, p. 41).

TOMB No. 16.

Apparently finished, but with no paintings or inscriptions. Architecturally of the same type as No. 15, but smaller and with seven mummy-pits.

TOMB No. 17.

Tomb of Khety (*vide* detailed description, p. 51).

TOMB No. 18.

Unfinished (see Pls. xx. and xxi.). The floor of the front part of the main chamber is not excavated to the full depth. The façade of the tomb is cut in the side of the cliff, and in this is hewn a plain doorway without architectural features. The plan of the main chamber (*vide* Pl. xxi.) is complicated by an extension on the south side commencing at eight feet ten inches from the south-west corner. The eastern end is divided transversely by three rows of columns supporting plain architraves; and another architrave, supported by a similar column, continues the original line of the South wall as far as the first of the three transverse architraves. Five of the columns on the north-east (viz., Nos. 1-3, and 5, 6) are now destroyed, but the remaining ones (viz., Nos. 4, and 7-10), which are all unfinished, still exist. The bases were apparently intended to be circular and similar to those of the columns in the tomb of Khety (No. 17). There are three mummy-pits. No paintings or inscriptions. The unsymmetrical plan of the tomb is due to the fact that the engineers were cramped for space, owing to a small tomb (No. 19) having already been excavated on the south side (*vide* Sketch Survey, *Beni Hasan,* Part I., Pl. ii., Nos. 18 and 19).

TOMB No. 19.

Unfinished. A small rectangular chamber, with low "cambered" ceiling and small unfinished shrine in the south wall. Three mummy-pits. No paintings or inscriptions.

TOMB No. 20.

Unfinished. In plan a small rectangular chamber. Two mummy-pits.

TOMB No. 21.

TOMB OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

NEKHTA.

Period. XIIth Dynasty. (The owner, Nekhta, is assumed to be identical with Nekht, the uncle of Khnemhotep II., see *Beni Hasan*, Part I., General Notice, § 3, for the date.)

Situation. Southern Group. (See *Beni Hasan*, Part I., Pl. ii. No. 21.)

Name. Nekhta.

Titles. *ḥā*, "*Ha*-prince."

her ṭep āa n Maḥez, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome."

(?) *mer set ābtet*, "Administrator of the Eastern Desert."

[*ḥā em Menāt-Khufu*, "*Ha*-prince of the town of Menat-Khufu." See *Beni Hasan*, Part I., p. 60, l. 56.]

Parentage and Family. On the parentage and family of Nekhta see General Notice, § 7, p. 9.

Architecture. Architecturally this tomb (Pl. xxii.) appears to be of the same type as No. 15 (see p. 45), but smaller, and with only two mummy-pits; the columns are destroyed.

Inscriptions and Paintings. Remains of an unfinished painting are to be seen on the lower part of the middle of the South wall. As the explanatory inscription informs us, the scene represents: *maa kat sekhet ā[n] ḥā*.........[*Nekhta*], "the watching of the work of the fields by the *Ha*-prince.........[Nekhta]" (Pl. xxii.*a*).

It is curious to note that the inscription which records his name, over the large standing figure of Nekhta, has no beginning.

should probably have been painted in above the single line.

On the West wall, to the left of the doorway, there has been scrawled in red paint on the rough surface of the stone, *kher heb Nekhtā*, "the lector Nekhta."

TOMB No. 22.

Unfinished. A rectangular chamber: two false doors, with "palm-branch" or corvetto cornice at the top, are sculptured opposite each other in the middle of the North wall and South wall respectively. They still retain traces of colour, showing that they were originally painted.

TOMB No. 23.

TOMB OF THE "ADMINISTRATOR OF THE EASTERN DESERT,"

NETERNEKHT.

Period. XIIth Dynasty.

Situation. Southern Group. (See *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. ii. No. 23.)

Name. Neternekht.

Titles. *erpȧ*, "*Erpa*-prince."

ḥȧ, "*Ha*-prince."

sȧḥu bȧti, "*Sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt."

semer uȧti, "Confidential friend of the King."

mer set ȧbtet, "Administrator of the Eastern Desert."

mer ḥen neter en Ḥeru ḥe rekhyt, "Superintendent of the priests of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt."

Parentage, &c. *Father:* Name unknown.

Mother: Arythotep, a *ḥen neter Ḥet-ḥeru em Ȧryt*, "Priestess of Hathor in Aryt," and *nebt per*, "Mistress of the house."

Wife: Her-ab, a *ḥen neter Ḥet-ḥeru em Ȧryt em sut-[s] nebt*, "Priestess of Hathor in Aryt in all [her] places." She was also a *nebt per*, "Mistress of the house," and a *rekht seten*, "Royal acquaintance."

The following persons are also represented in this tomb:—

(1) Khnemhotep, son of Nehera, born of Baqt [Khnemhotep II.], who claims to have made the tomb for his ancestor.

(2) Khety, born of Thent [wife of the preceding (see *Beni Hasan*, Part I., p. 43, and General Notice, § 7, p. 11)].

(3) Khety, born of Khu, who is not mentioned elsewhere.

Architecture. The façade of the tomb (see Pl. xxiii.) is cut into the side of the cliff, and in this is hewn a large plain doorway without architectural features. In plan the Main Chamber is nearly square, with the east end divided off by two columns. These latter, which are now entirely broken away, were probably of the lotus-bud type, and were surmounted by abaci and a plain architrave running transversely to the axis of the tomb. Where the architrave abuts against the wall are antae of slight projection. A transverse section would show that the rock ceiling is slightly "cambered" in the space between the architrave and the exterior wall, while in the longitudinal section it slopes down from the architrave to the inner wall. The western portion of the South wall was cut too far back and left unfinished, and the South-west wall has been broken through into Tomb No. 24 (which is shown on the same Plate). Four mummy-pits are excavated in the floor, which has suffered much from quarrying.

Decoration. *Ceiling:* The ceiling between the architrave and the inner wall is elaborately painted. The decoration represents a wooden beam running transversely across the centre of the ceiling (see Pl. xxiii.). Its colour is yellow with brown graining, and upon it, between two thick lines of dark blue, are painted two mutilated inscriptions in blue hieroglyphs, starting from the centre and reading thus, ⋙→ ←⋘. On the north side is given the *Ṭȧ seten ḥetep* formula to Osiris : . On the south side is given the *Ṭȧ seten ḥetep* formula to Anubis : . On either side of the beam the space is divided by thin black lines into small red and yellow squares containing quatrefoils, which are black in the red squares and blue in the yellow. This design is continued to the edges of the ceiling at the architrave and walls; but in the centre is a large rectangular space of a different pattern, crossed by the beam and bordered by two white lines enclosing a narrow black band, within which is a wavy white line. This space is divided transversely into three nearly equal compartments. In the central one, which is narrower than the others, is painted a chequer pattern (yellow and red); it is separated from the other compartments by narrow black lines. The remaining spaces are filled with imitation mat-work of plain yellow, and yellow with brown stripes ; the direction of the two kinds of reeds alternates in the four compartments which the beam forms in crossing the two spaces. Compare the ceiling decoration of Tomb No. 2, the patterns of which are almost identical with the above (see *Beni Hasan*, Part I., p. 29, and Pl. vi.).

Frieze: The frieze consists of the usual kheker ornament above a border of coloured rectangles.

Scenes and Inscriptions. NORTH WALL. Painted low down on this wall are several Coptic inscriptions: among them the alphabetic table given in Pl. xxv.

EAST WALL. Pl. xxiv. The East wall only is painted with scenes, and these have been much damaged by the Copts, who have scrawled numerous graffiti upon them. On the north end of the wall is a group of three large standing figures; the central one of Neternekht, facing to the right; the right-hand one of his mother, Arythotep; and on the left, facing him, Her-ab, his wife. Above, in fifteen vertical lines of hieroglyphs, are given the names and titles of these three persons in separate inscriptions. The inscriptions read :—

(1) *Maa ȧnu neb nefer[ȧn-]nef em nut-ef em ḥeseput-ef ent k̲h̲enu Maḥez ȧn erpȧ ḥȧ sȧhu bȧti semer uȧti m[er] ḥenu neter en Ḥeru [ḥe] rek̲h̲yt maa maat uȧ mer set ȧbtet ḥȧ Neternek̲h̲t*

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

maä kheru neb ämakh, "Seeing all the good contributions brought to him from his towns (and) his fields of the Oryx nome, by the *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, *sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the King, superintendent of the priests of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt, making the inspection alone (*i.e.* without the aid of a royal scribe), administrator of the Eastern Desert, the *ha*-prince, Neternekht, justified, possessing the reward of worth."

(2) *Met-ef mert-ef ḥen neter Ḥet-ḥeru em ʿÄryt nebt per ʿÄrytḥetep,* "His mother, whom he loves, the priestess of Hathor in Aryt, the lady of the house, Arythotep."

(3) *Ḥemt-ef mert-ef ent set äb-ef rekht seten ḥen neter Ḥet-ḥeru em ʿÄryt em sut[-es] nebt nebt per Ḥer-äb maä kheru,* "His wife, whom he loves of the place of his heart, familiar friend of the King, priestess of Hathor in Aryt in all [her] places, the lady of the house, Her-ab, justified."

Behind these figures, in the upper part of the wall, are tables with sacred oils, &c. The lower part is destroyed.

To the right of the figures at the top are shown various offerings, and at the base is a small painted figure of the *mer per Per-Ptaḥ sa Nekhtä,* "the steward Per-Ptah's son Nekhta." The rest of the scene is destroyed.

In the middle of the wall are the remains of a seated figure of Khnemhotep [II.], with an inscription of seven vertical lines of hieroglyphs above him, reading :—

Ḥä mer ḥen neter mer set äbtet Neḥerä sa Khnemḥetep är en Baqt maät-kheru nebt ämakh är-ef en ät-ef mery-ef ḥä mer ḥen neter......[Neternekht?] är en ʿÄrytḥetep maä[t]-kheru, "The *ha*-prince, the superintendent of the priests, the administrator of the Eastern Desert, Nehera's son Khnemhotep, born of Baqt, justified, possessing the reward of worth; he made [this] for his ancestor, whom he loves, the *ha*-prince, the superintendent of the priests.........[Neṭernekht?] born of Arythotep, justified."

In front of Khnemhotep is a table of offerings, above which is a name list of twenty of them. The scene below is destroyed. On the right-hand side of the wall are painted two figures of women, one of whom sits before an altar, whilst the other stands behind her. Above the seated figure are given her name and titles in four vertical lines of hieroglyphs :—

Ertet-pät ḥä[tet] merer[t] ha-es, ḥent per-es, ḥent meryt-es sat ḥä nebt per Khety ärt en Thent maä[t]-kheru, "The *erpa*-princess, the *ha*-princess, whom her husband loves, mistress of her house, mistress of her serfs, the daughter of a *ha*-prince, the lady of a house, Khety, born of Thent, justified."

Above the standing figure is an inscription in three vertical lines of hieroglyphs, reading :—

Ämakht kher Äsär neb Ṭeṭu nebt per Khety ärt en Khu maät-kheru neb[t] ämakh, "Devoted towards Osiris, Lord of Tatu, the lady of the house, Khety, born of Khu, justified, possessing the reward of worth."

In front of Khety, "born of Thent," is an altar, upon which are numerous offerings, and above, to the left-hand side, is given a name list of twenty-two of them. The blank space to the left was probably occupied by offerings.

TOMB No. 24.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxiii., where it is shown in plan and elevation on the right of the entrance to Tomb No. 23). Apparently a small chamber with slightly arched ceiling. The entrance and back wall are much damaged. Immediately outside the entrance is a mummy-pit (see Mr. Fraser's Appendix, p. 80).

TOMB No. 25.

Unfinished. A small square chamber with three mummy-pits.

TOMB No. 26.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). A small square chamber with slightly "cambered" ceiling. Two mummy-pits.

TOMB No. 27.

TOMB OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

REMUSHENTA.

Period. XIth Dynasty (?). (See *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., General Notice, § 3.)

Situation. Southern Group. (See *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. ii. No. 27.)

Name. Remushenta (variant: Remushen[t]a).

Titles. *ḥā*, "*ha*-prince."

sāḥu bāti, "*Sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt."

semer uāti, "Confidential friend of the King."

rekh seten, "Royal acquaintance."

ḥer ṭep āa en Mahez, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome."

ām-ās, "He who is in the chamber." (Legal title.)

āri Nekhen, "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen." (Legal title.)

ḥer ṭep Nekheb, "Chief of the city of Nekheb." (Legal title.)

Religion. No representation of any divinity occurs in the tomb. Prayers are addressed as usual to the two chief funereal gods, Osiris and Anubis. The only other deity mentioned in the inscriptions is the local one: "Khnem, Lord of Herur."

Architecture. The façade of the tomb (see Pl. xxvi.) is cut in the side of the cliff, and in this is hewn a plain doorway without architectural features. In plan the main chamber is nearly square, with the ceiling slightly "cambered." On the south half of the West wall is carved a false door, which is unfinished and much mutilated. There are six mummy-pits.

Paintings.

The frieze consists of the usual kheker ornament and coloured rectangles.

Scenes and Inscriptions.

East Wall. Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs, too much mutilated to be traced, reading ⇶→ :—



Ṭā ḥetep seten	*Ās-ār neb Ṭeṭu*	*Khent āmentiu*	*neb Abṭu*
May the King give an offering	[and] Osiris, Lord of Tatu,	Khent Amentiu,	Lord of Abydos,
pert kheru	*ent ḥā*	*sāḥu bāti*	*semer uāti*
perkheru offerings	to the *ha*-prince,	*sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt,	confidential friend of the King,
ḥer ṭep āa en Maḥez	*ānu qemā*	*mery neb-ef maā*	*ḥesy-ef en set āb-ef*
Great Chief of the Oryx nome,	pillar of the South,	beloved of his lord truly,	his favourite of the place of his heart,
ār menu nu zet	*em ḥet neter ent Khnem neb Ḥerur*		*ṭā-nef maā-kheru neb*
making monuments of eternity	in the temple of Khnem, Lord of Herur,		who gives to him all justification,
fuyt āb neb	*āmakhy [kher Ās-ār] Re-mu-shentā*		
all widening of the heart (*i.e.* joy),	the worthy before Osiris, Remushenta.		

On the left-hand side of the wall is painted a large standing figure of Remushenta clad in a leopard's skin (?). In the centre was apparently painted a list of offerings, on the right-hand side of which was a large standing figure of Remushenta seated upon a chair: below him sits a dog. The general scheme of the paintings in this wall was probably similar to that of the East wall of Tomb No. 29 (see Pl. xxx.).

South Wall. Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs, too much mutilated to be traced, reading ←⇷ :—



The beginning of the inscription probably gave the *Ṭā ḥetep seten Ānpu* formula. Among the titles are:—*ḥesy-ef maā em khert ḥeru ent rā neb,* "whom he praises truly in that which belongs to the day of every day" (*i.e.* "from day to day"), and *mery nut-ef,* "beloved of his townsmen."

All that can now be distinguished of the paintings are, in the south-east corner, a large standing figure of Remushenta, and behind him servants (?) and two dwarfs, similar to those in Pl. xvi.

TOMB No. 28.

Uninscribed. Architecturally of the same type as Tomb No. 15, but smaller, and with two columns remaining. Eight mummy-pits. Apparently converted by the Copts into a church; fragments of Coptic plaster remain on the walls and floor.

TOMB No. 29.

TOMB OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

BAQT [I.].

Period. XIth Dynasty (?). (See *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., General Notice, § 3.)

Situation. Southern Group. (See Sketch Survey, *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. ii., No. 29.)

Name. Baqt (variants: and Baqta).

Titles.

ḥā, "*Ha*-prince."

sāḥu bāti, "*Sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt."

semer uāti, "Confidential friend of the King."

rekh seten, "Royal acquaintance."

her tep āa en Maḥez, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome."

ām-ās, "He who is in the chamber." (Legal title.)

āri Nekhen, "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen." (Legal title.)

her tep Nekheb, "Chief of the city of Nekheb." (Legal title.)

Parentage and Family.

Father: Name unknown.

Mother: Name unknown.

Wife: Tehutiqa, a "priestess of gold (?) of Hathor."

[*Son:* Baqt [II.] see Pl. xxxvi.]

Religion. No representation of any divinity occurs in the tomb. Prayers are addressed as usual to the two chief funereal gods, Osiris, Lord of Tatu, Khent Amentiu, Lord of Abydos; and Anubis, Within the temple, Upon his Hill, Within Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land.

The only other deities named in the inscriptions are: "Khnem, Lord of Herur," "Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt," and "Hathor."

Architecture.

The façade of the tomb (see Pl. xxvii.) is cut into the side of the cliff (in a bad layer of stone), and in this is hewn a plain doorway without architectural features. In plan the Main chamber is nearly square, with roof slightly "cambered." The ceiling is roughly worked, the limestone being full of hard nuclei of large size, which were left projecting by the excavators. Part of the cliff has fallen away, destroying the upper part of the doorway, which evidently consisted of a plain rectangular opening. There is a pivot-hole on the northern side of the doorway. On the south side of the East wall is carved a false door with sinkings and beads: above it is represented a lintel, painted to imitate granite (see Pl. xxx.). The tomb has been much defaced by the Copts, who have cut a doorway from Tomb No. 28 through its North wall [see Plan Pl. xxvii.]. They have also broken through the South wall into Tomb No. 30, and cut a passage with rough steps to the mummy-pit of the same tomb. A square recess has also been cut in the East wall. There are six mummy-pits; one unfinished and placed askew.

Decoration.

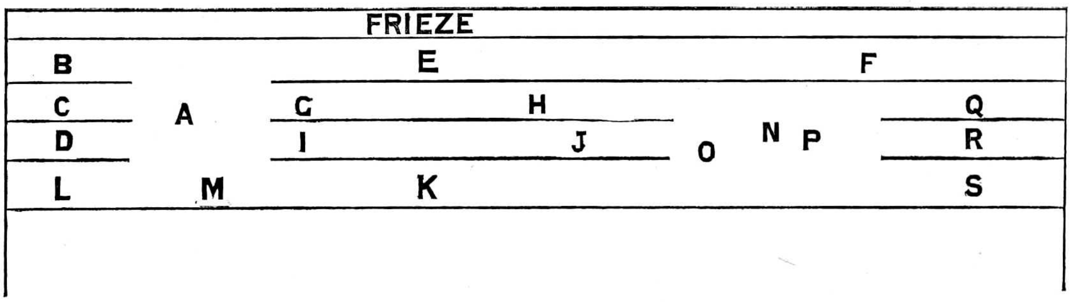
The ceiling is plain.

The frieze consists of a kind of rope pattern with the upper edging line omitted, painted in black.

Scenes and Inscriptions.

West Wall. This wall is very much damaged and the paintings almost entirely defaced. *North side of doorway:* To the right is a large standing figure of Baqt with staff in his right hand, and before him was a vertical line of hieroglyphs giving his titles (?) (is all that remains). In front of him are several scribes, arranged in three rows. *South side of doorway:* To the left is a large standing figure of Baqt, below which is a boating scene (?).

North Wall. (See Pls. xxviii. and xxix.)



The paintings are in a very bad state of preservation. On the western side of the wall is a figure of Baqt, wearing sandals and leaning on a staff [A], with his name and titles in a horizontal line of hieroglyphs above him. Behind, in three rows, are attendants and others bringing weapons, furniture, and offerings [B, C, D]. In front of him are three rows of scenes. Row 1. Hunting in the desert with nets [E, F], and bringing the game to Baqt.

The inscription to the left of the first row is explanatory of the scenes; like the similar one on Pl. xxxv. it is much confused, but can be read thus:—

maa ȧnu	*ȧut set*	*ḥam remu*	*sekhet apdu*
Inspecting the tribute	of the (wild) cattle of the desert,	catching fish,	netting wild fowl,
khens shau	*shesu*	*peḥu meru*	*ȧ[n] ḥȧ*
traversing in the papyrus marshes,	pools of wild fowl,	swamps and canals,	by the *ha*-prince,
rekh seten	*mery-ef ḥesy-ef*	*Baqtȧ*	
the royal acquaintance,	whom he loves [and] praises,	Baqta.	

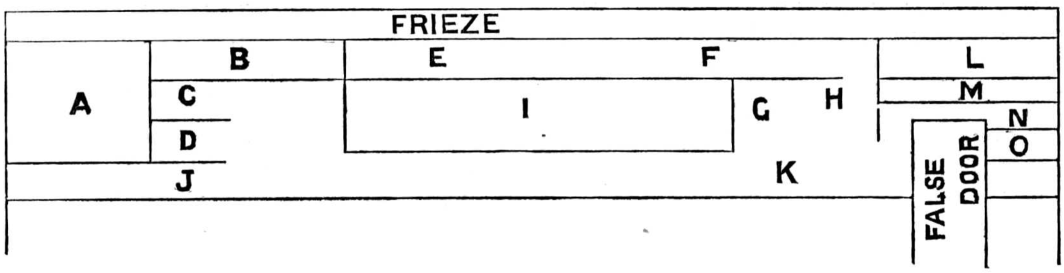
Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

Row 2. Men engaged in catching wild fowl with a clap-net [H]. Two men in a papyrus boat bringing the birds with flowers to Baqt [G].

Row 3. Men pulling a net full of fish to shore [J, K]. A man carrying fish, and another splitting them open to dry [I]. Two boats on the river or canal [M]. A herd of cattle about to be taken across the water and a man carrying a calf to the boats [L].

On the eastern side of the wall, and occupying the three bottom rows, is shown [at N] Baqt [I.], accompanied by his wife Tehutiqa [O] and, presumably, his son (Baqt [II.]), whose figure is almost destroyed [at P]; these three persons are upon the water, apparently in a papyrus boat (? the end of which is shown as if flat); Baqt is armed with a harpoon, and is in the act of striking a fish. (Here a doorway has been cut by the Copts through the wall into Tomb No. 28, destroying much of the scene.) On the right hand of the papyrus marsh are represented, in two rows, parties of men in canoes gathering the papyrus [Q, R], and below, a quarrel between two crews [S].

East Wall. (See Pl. xxx.)



On the north end of the wall is painted a standing figure of Baqt [I.], clad in a leopard-skin garment, and holding in his left hand a staff and in his right a bâton of office [A]. In front is a vertical line of hieroglyphs, giving his name and titles. Arranged in three rows before him are men bringing gazelles, oxen, &c. [B, C, D]. Over the upper row is an inscription, reading:—

maa mezt............ȧut set

Inspecting the stalls of cattle and.........the animals of the desert.

On the middle of the wall, and divided from the scenes just described by a lotus-bud column, is painted a scene representing men bringing offerings [E, F] to lay upon an altar [G] in front of their lord, Baqt [I.], who is seated on a chair, beneath which is a dog [H]. In the centre is a large name-list, in three rows, of the offerings presented [I], and below are men sacrificing oxen [J, K].

On the south end of the wall, and divided from the middle scene by a painted column with lotus flower capital, are five rows of paintings and a sculptured false door:—

Row 1. A table, upon which is a box and jewellery, to which men are bringing various articles of domestic furniture [L].

Row 2. Five men carrying weapons for hunting and fighting. The third man is leading by a string an ichneumon (?); a dog is beside it [M].

Row 3. Two men reciting, one entitled [*k͟her ḥe*]*b*; and another carrying a head-rest [N].

Row 4. Two men bringing offerings to lay upon an altar [O].

Row 5. Sacrifice of an ox.

To the left of Rows 3-5, and occupying in height from Row 3 to the level of the floor, is sculptured a false door with beads and sinkings; above it is a painted lintel and corvetto cornice, and the whole is enclosed by an "architrave," upon which are incised three inscriptions—

(1) The *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to the Great God, Lord of Heaven, with name and titles of Baqt [I.].

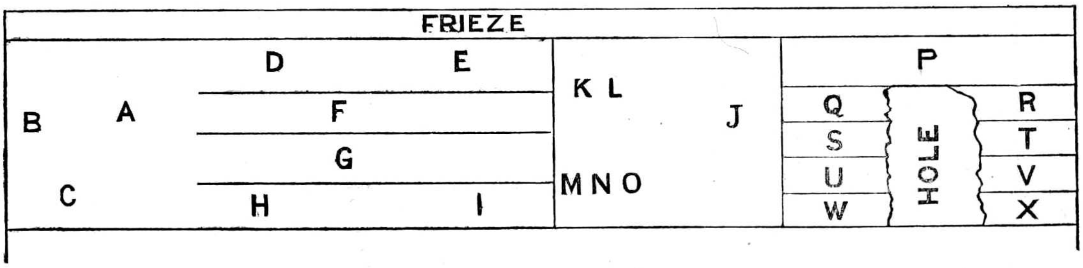
Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

(2) The *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris, Lord of Tetu, *khent ȧmentiu*, Lord of Abydos, with name and titles of Baqt [I.].

(3) The *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis, *khent.........neter*, Upon his Hill, Within Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land, with name and titles of Baqt [I.].

The upper half of the false door contains a scene representing Baqt seated at a table of offerings. Below is the false door proper, with rounded lintel; above it are the seven sacred oils, and on each side are two lines of hieroglyphs and a standing figure of Baqt [I.].

South Wall. (See Pls. xxxi.-xxxii.)



The paintings are divided into two sections by a narrow black vertical line drawn from the frieze to the dado in the middle of the wall.

(*a*) Eastern half (see Pl. xxxi.).

To the left is a large standing figure of Baqt [I.], holding a staff in his left hand and a bâton of office in the right [A]. In front is a vertical line of hieroglyphs, reading :—

ḥȧ	*ȧm-ȧ*	*sȧḥu bati*	
The *ha*-prince,	favoured by the (royal) arm,	*sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt,	
semer uȧti	*ḥer ṭep ȧa en Maḥez*	*neb ȧamt*	*bener meru[t]*
confidential friend of the King,	Great Chief of the Oryx nome,	possessor of grace,	sweet of love,
mery Khnem neb Ḥerur	*Baqt*		
beloved of Khnem, Lord of Herur,	Baqt.		

Behind Baqt stand two attendants [B, C].

The paintings on the remaining part of this side of the wall are divided into four rows :—

Row 1. Six men are endeavouring to overturn a bull, which is tossing one of them [D]. To the right is an acacia (*sont*) tree, in which are perched various birds. Goats attended by the goatherd are browsing on the leaves of the lower branches [E].

Row 2. A group of men, bulls fighting, and man with cow and boy [F].

Row 3. Scene of cows and a bull [G].

Row 4. The left-hand end of this row is almost entirely defaced, but there still remain traces of a man armed with bow and arrows and shooting at a lioness which is attacking a bull [H]. To the right are two bulls [I].

(*b*) Western half (see Pl. xxxii.).

To the left is a large standing figure of Baqt [I.], holding in his left hand a staff and in his right

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

hand a bâton of office [J]. Behind him stand the *sȧḥu* (?), "treasurer," holding a staff [K], the *shemsu k͟her thebui*, "attendant sandal-bearer," carrying a pair of sandals [L], and three dwarfs [M, N, O], called respectively,  *nemu*,  *zeneb*, and  *ȧu*. Compare the dwarfs in Tomb No. 17, Pl. xvi.

In a horizontal line above, and in a vertical one in front of Baqt, are given his name and titles. The vertical line reads :—

ḥȧ ȧmes ȧb [*en reth neb*] (cp. *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. vii. and p. 23) *ȧr menu* [*nu zet*]
the *ha*-prince, pleasing the heart of all people, making monuments of eternity

em ḥet neter ent Ḥeru ḥe Rek͟hyt [*ḥer ṭep ȧa*] *en* [*Ma*]*ḥez* *ȧnu qemȧ*
in the temple of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt, Great Chief of the Oryx nome, the pillar of the South,

Baqtȧ
Baqta [I.].

The paintings to the right are arranged in five rows of unequal height.

Row 1. Six groups of wrestlers [P].

Row 2. Men leading and driving goats [Q, R]. To the left of the row is a vertical line of hieroglyphs descriptive of the scene, and reading :—*maa us͟haau*, "Inspecting the goats."

Row 3. Men leading and driving oxen [S, T]. To the left of the row is a vertical line of hieroglyphs, reading :—*maa ȧnu en kau ȧuau unṭu*, "Inspecting tribute of bulls, oxen, and bullocks."

Row 4. Bulls fighting [U, V].

Row 5. Ploughing scenes [W, X].

A doorway has been cut through the western part of this wall into Tomb No. 30, destroying the centre part of Rows 2-5.

TOMB No. 30.

A small square chamber with vaulted ceiling (see Pl. xxxvii.), the axis of which runs parallel to the axis of the tomb. At the east end of the chamber is a small shrine, raised two feet five inches above the chamber floor, with moulded architrave and projecting cornice. On the East wall of this shrine is sculptured a small standing figure, mutilated. In the centre of the chamber is a mummy-pit sloping inwards.

TOMB No. 31.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.), and the plan uncertain. One mummy-pit.

TOMB No. 32.

The façade of the tomb (see Pl. xxxiii.) is cut into the side of the hill, and consists of a "portico in antis," *i.e.* it has two columns (now almost entirely broken away) and antae. The shafts of the columns are very slender, octagonal in plan, and stand on large circular bases rounded on the edges and slightly raised above the floor level. The shafts taper slightly, and are surmounted by a plain

square abacus, which projects beyond the upper periphery, but is of the same width as the lower diameter of the shafts. The architrave, which rested upon the abacus, is of the same width and without any architectural divisions. Its apparent supports on either wall are slightly projecting pilasters, corresponding to the *antae* in a Greek temple: they are plain and of the same width as the architrave. Above the architrave there is a ledge of rock somewhat resembling a cornice, the soffit of which is plain. The ceiling of the portico is of a curved section, taking the form of a segmental barrel vault, which is placed at right angles to the axis of the tomb (see Longitudinal section, Pl. xxxiii.); the arch therefore springs from the architrave of the column on the one side, and from the wall which separates the portico from the main chamber on the other. The portico is separated from the main chamber by a wall three feet thick, and in this is formed a doorway, the threshold of which is raised six inches above the portico floor. The door-posts and lintel (technically, the " architrave of the door ") project from the wall one inch, and are quite flat. In plan the main chamber is nearly symmetrical, and is lighted only from the doorway: the floor is raised one foot six inches above the threshold. The roof was supported by two columns with plain architraves, which run parallel to the axis of the tomb and divide the chamber into three aisles of nearly equal width. From these architraves spring three barrel vaults of a segmental section. The shafts are completely destroyed from the architrave to the base, leaving no indication of their form. The bases, like those of the portico, are raised six inches above the floor level, and chamfered: their diameter is five feet. At the east end of the main chamber is the Shrine or Sanctuary, entered by a doorway, which is surrounded by the moulded "architrave" and surmounted by the usual corvetto or palm-branch cornice. This doorway stands on a plain pedestal, projecting slightly from the East wall, and the floor of the Shrine is raised three feet eight inches above that of the main chamber. The separating wall is two feet six inches thick. The inner threshold is raised to the level of the floor of the shrine. Crossing the south aisle of the main chamber is the opening of a mummy-pit, which slopes down under the South wall. There is another mummy-pit (sloping inwards) the entrance to which is in the central aisle, immediately in front of the doorway. Through the South wall a hole has been cut (probably by the Copts) into the adjoining tomb (No. 33).

The walls of this tomb were left quite plain.

TOMB No. 33.

TOMB OF THE "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

BAQT [II.].

Period. XIth Dynasty (?). (See *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., General Notice, § 3.)

Situation. Southern Group. (See Sketch Survey, *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. ii. No. 33.)

Name. Baqt (variants: , Baqta, and Baqt).

Titles. *ḥá*, "*Ha*-prince."

saḥu bàti, "*Sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt."

semer uàti, "Confidential friend of the King."

rekh seten, "Royal acquaintance."

Titles (*cont.*)

ḥer ṭep ȧa en Maḥez, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome."

ȧm-ȧs, "He who is in the chamber." (Legal title.)

ȧri Nekhen, "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen." (Legal title.)

ḥer ṭep Nekheb, "Chief of the city of Nekheb." (Legal title.)

Parentage.

Father: Baqt [I.], of whom he was the ...., "eldest son of his body."

Mother: Tehutiqa (see Pl. xxxvi.*c*, and compare Pl. xxix.).

Religion.

No representation of any divinity occurs in the tomb. Prayers are addressed to the two chief funerary gods, Osiris, Lord of Tetu, *Khent-amentiu,* Lord of Abydos, and Anubis, Within the temple, Upon his hill, Within Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land.

The only other deities named in the inscriptions are :—

"Khnem," and "Horus, Smiter of the *Rekhyt.*"

Architecture.

The façade of the tomb (see Pl. xxxiv.) is cut in the side of the cliff, and in this is hewn a plain doorway without architectural features. In plan the Main chamber is nearly square, with roof slightly "cambered." On the south half of the West wall is carved a false door, with sinkings and beads, upon which are incised hieroglyphic inscriptions. There are three mummy-pits.

The frieze consists of the usual kheker ornament, with a row of coloured rectangles above and below.

Scenes and Inscriptions.

West Wall. North side of doorway. Beneath the frieze are traces of a hieroglyphic inscription. Below, to the left, are painted a large standing figure of Baqt [II.] and, in front of him, wrestlers and scribes.

South side of doorway. No frieze is traceable here. On the upper part of the right-hand side of the wall is painted a large standing figure of Baqt [II.] with an altar in front of him, to which men are bringing offerings. On the left-hand side of the wall is sculptured a false door, with slight beads and sinkings (see Pl. xxxvi.). Above it is painted the usual corvetto or "palm-branch" cornice; an inscribed band or architrave surrounds the door. Incised upon this architrave are three hieroglyphic inscriptions. The horizontal one at the top gives the prayer for *perkheru* offerings, and reads :—*pertkheru ent ḥā ȧmakhy kher neter ȧa neb pet Baqtȧ,* "*perkheru* offerings to the devoted one towards the Great God, Lord of heaven, Baqta." The right and left-hand inscriptions give the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formulas to Anubis and Osiris respectively. An inner band encloses within it, at the top, a scene representing the owner of the tomb before a table of offerings, in which the figure, hieroglyphs and all matters of detail, are sculptured in relief. Below are the seven sacred oils, and beneath, another band enclosing the false door proper. The inscription upon this band gives the usual prayer for *perkheru* offerings, together with the name and titles of Baqt [II.].

North Wall (see Pl. xxxv.). Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs, giving the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis for a good burial, together with the name and titles of Baqt. Among the latter occurs :—*neb-ef mery em un maȧ,* "Loving his lord of very truth." The scenes are

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

arranged in four (or five ?) rows. Only the painting in the two upper rows can now be made out; the lower rows are almost entirely destroyed by the Arab graffiti which have been scrawled over them.

Row 1. Shows a hunting scene in the desert.

Row 2. The right-hand end is destroyed. In the centre was a standing figure of Baqt [II.] armed with a harpoon, to the left of him is a scene representing men fowling with a clap-net.

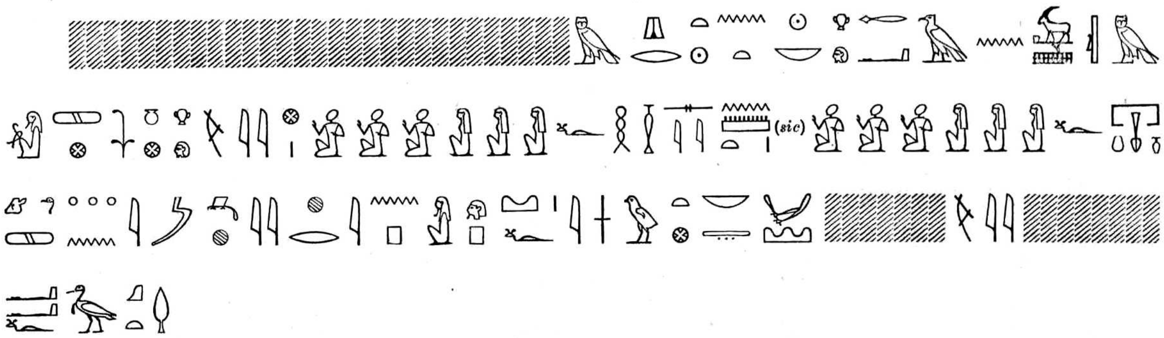
At the west end of the wall are the remains of a large standing figure of Baqt [II.], with his name and titles above him, and in front of him a confused inscription descriptive of the scenes (compare a similar one in Tomb No. 29, Pl. xxviii.). It reads:—"Inspecting the tribute of the cattle of the hills, catching of fish, netting of wild fowl, traversing the papyrus marshes, pools of wild fowl, swamps and canals, by the *ha*-prince,.........Baqt."

East Wall (see Pl. xxxvi.). Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs giving the *Ṭà ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris for a good burial, together with the name and titles of Baqt. The inscription ends:—

meḥ àb en seten em qemàu satisfying the desire of the King within the South,			*neb-ef mery rà neb* whom his lord loves every day,	
ànu qemàu pillar of the South,	*àr menu nu zet em ḥet neter ent Khnem* making monuments of eternity in the house of Khnem,			*àm-à* favoured of the (royal) hand,
àmakhy the devoted one,	*mes en Ṭeḥutiqa* born of Tehutiqa,	*Baqt [I.] sa* son of Baqt,	*ḥà* a *ha*-prince,	*ḥer ṭep àa en Maḥez* (and) Great Chief of the Oryx nome,
mery ur en khet-ef beloved (and) the eldest of his body,	*àmakhy kher neter àa* devoted towards the great god,	*Baqt [II.]* Baqt [II.].		

The paintings on this wall represent a number of men bringing offerings to lay upon an altar in front of Baqt. The lower part of the wall paintings are almost entirely defaced, but what is left of them shows that the general scheme of the scenes corresponded with the scheme of those on the East wall of Tomb No. 29 (omitting the false door and the rows to the right of it).

South Wall. Immediately below the frieze is the following line of hieroglyphs, too much mutilated to be traced:—



The inscription is almost identical with that on the South wall of Tomb No. 27 (see p. 31).

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

The paintings here are too much defaced to copy. The accompanying diagram, made from what remains of the scenes, may be taken as giving the scheme upon which they were arranged:—

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">FRIEZE</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">INSCRIPTION</td></tr>
<tr><td>Seated Figure of Baqt. Below his chair are two dogs.</td><td>Four large Figures.</td><td>A Dwarf.</td><td>Standing Figure of Baqt.</td><td>Hunting and Agricultural Scenes.</td></tr>
</table>

TOMB No. 34.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). A small square chamber, with remains of Coptic plaster on the floor and walls. Two mummy-pits.

TOMB No. 35.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). Apparently only the exterior portico is begun. It has a curved roof. Across the front of the entrance is the opening to a mummy-pit.

TOMB No. 36.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). A small square chamber. On the East wall are two small seated figures (cut in the solid rock) flanking a larger one, now much mutilated.

TOMB No. 37.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). Plan (?).

TOMB No. 38.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). A small square chamber, with an uninscribed false door on the southern half of the West wall.

TOMB No. 39.

Unfinished (see Pl. xxxvii.). A small square chamber. The southern half of the West wall is broken away.

TOMB No. 15.

TOMB OF THE  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

 BAQT [III.].

(PLATES II.—VIIIA.)

FORMER DESCRIPTIONS AND COPIES.

The tomb was first described by

JOMARD in 1798 (*Description de l'Egypte*, Antiq., Tome iv., pp. 335-347). In March, 1825, it was visited by

JAMES BURTON (Diary, 1825, March 12-15, Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* No. 25637, ff. 2, 4, 73); and three years later by the members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition under

CHAMPOLLION and ROSELLINI (Tomb of "Menophth," Champollion's *Lettres écrits*, p. 42; *Monuments*, pls. ccclxx., ccclxxii., &c.; *Notices*, Tome ii., ff. 359-384; *Papiers de Champollion*, Supplément, 36, ff. 129-200, in the Bibl. Nat. Paris; Rosellini's *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, II. *Mon. civili*, pls. ix., x., xiv., &c., and *MSS.* in the Library of the University at Pisa). A few of the scenes were traced by

ROBERT HAY in 1828 (see his journal in Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29857, ff. 97-120, and copies in Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29850, ff. 346, 347, &c.). Small scale copies of some of the paintings were made by

WILKINSON in 1834 (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 1878, vol. i., pp. 203, 305, &c., vol. ii., pp. 112, 234, &c.); and in 1842

LEPSIUS made copies of some of the inscriptions (see *MSS.* at Berlin and *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 142, *e*, *f*, *g*).

TOMB No. 15.

PERIOD: XIth Dynasty.
(See Pt. I., General Notice, § 3.)

POSITION: Southern Group.
(Sketch Survey, Pt. I., Pl. ii. No. 15.)

NAME, RANK, TITLES, AND PARENTAGE OF THE OWNER OF THE TOMB.

Name. Baqt (variants: Baqtà, and Baqtà).

Rank. Governor of the Oryx nome, the XVIth nome of Upper Egypt.

Titles.

ḥà, "*Ha*-prince."

sàḥu bàti, "*Sahu* (treasurer ?) of the King of Lower Egypt."

semer uàti, "Confidential friend of the King."

rekh seten maà, "True royal acquaintance."

ḥer ṭep àa en Maḥez mà qeṭ-ef, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome to its entirety."

àm-às, "He who is in the chamber." (Legal title.)

àri Nekhen, "He who belongs to the city of Nechen." (Legal title.)

ḥer ṭep Nekheb, "Chief of the city of Necheb." (Legal title.)

Parentage, &c.

Father: Remushen.

Mother: Hoteperfu (variant, Hoteperfua).

Daughter: Hathor-neferheputa.

RELIGION.

Religion.

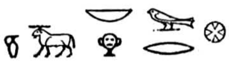
No representation of any divinity occurs in the tomb. Prayers are addressed to the two chief funerary gods, Osiris and Anubis, and once to Khnem, Lord of Herur.

The following deities are named in the inscriptions:—

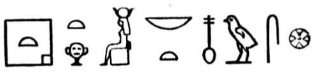
 *Ȧs-ȧr neb Ṭȧṭu khent ȧmentiu neb Abṭu,* "Osiris, Lord of Tatu (Busiris), *khent Amenti,* Lord of Abydos."

 *Ȧnpu ṭep ṭu-ef ȧm Ut neb Tazeser,* "Anubis Upon his hill, Within Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land."

 *Ḥeru ḥe rekhyt,* "Horus, Smiter of the *Rekhyt.*"

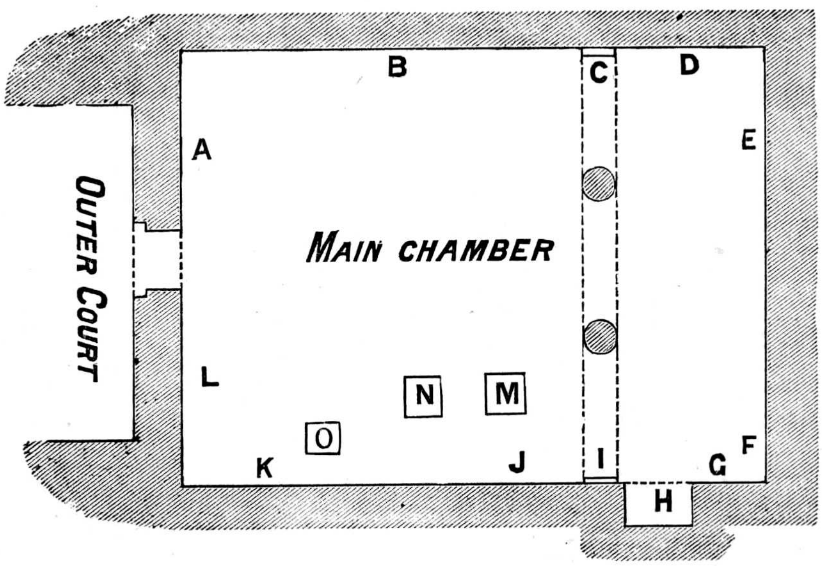
 *Khnem neb Ḥerur,* "Khnem, Lord of Herur."

 *Ptaḥ Seker,* "Ptah Socaris."

 *Ḥet-ḥeru nebt Neferus,* "Hathor, Lady of Neferus."

 *Ḥeqt Ḥeruryt,* "Heqt of Herur."

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB.



KEY PLAN TO SCENES.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

(*See Plates II. and III.*)

Architectural Features. The façade of the tomb is cut into the side of the cliff, and in this is hewn a large plain doorway without architectural features (see Pl. ii.). In plan the main chamber is rectangular, and the east end was divided off by two quatrefoil columns of the lotus-bud type (see Pl. x.). These latter, which are now broken away, were surmounted by a plain architrave running transversely to the axis of the tomb. Fragments of the shafts and capitals were found on clearing the tomb: the circular bases, of a rounded section, as well as the architrave, are still in place. Where the architrave abuts against the walls, are antae of a very slight projection. The rock ceiling is slightly "cambered" in the form of a very flat arch. In the south-eastern corner of the main chamber is excavated a small shrine (see plan, Pl. ii.). There are seven mummy-pits: those marked M, N, and O in the Key plan have been cleared: for plan and sections of that marked M (A in the plan on Pl. ii.) see Pl. iii.

The entrance to this tomb is shown on Pl. i., to the extreme left.

PAINTINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

Main Chamber.

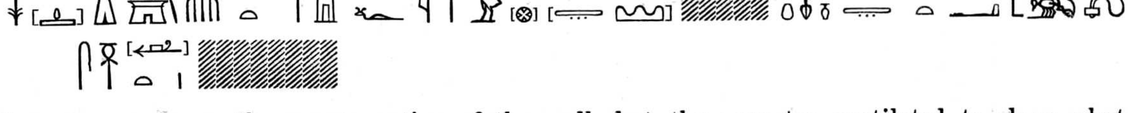
(*See Plates IV.-VIIIa.*)

Frieze, &c. The frieze consists of the usual kheker ornament painted in colours. Beneath the kheker ornament is a border of coloured rectangles (yellow, blue, red, and green), separated by black lines enclosing a white line. On the North wall this border is continued down either side of the paintings, and forms a "framing" to the scenes. The ceiling and dado are plain.

Style of Painting. The style of painting is uniform throughout the tomb. The human figure is boldly and spiritedly drawn: the birds and animals are weak. The hieroglyphs immediately below the frieze and above the large figures of Baqt are coloured with much care and detail. The small explanatory hieroglyphs are roughly painted in green. For a specimen of the painting see Pl. viii. The subjects of the paintings on the North and East walls bear a close resemblance to those of the corresponding walls of Tomb No. 17 (compare Pl. iv. with Pl. xiii., and Pl. v. with Pl. xv.).

West Wall. (See Key plan A and L.)

Scenes and Inscriptions. On the South-west wall immediately below the frieze, which is much mutilated, is a line of painted hieroglyphs ←, giving the *Ṭā ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis, the prayer for *perkheru*-offerings, and titles of Baqt. The end of the line is destroyed. The inscription runs:—

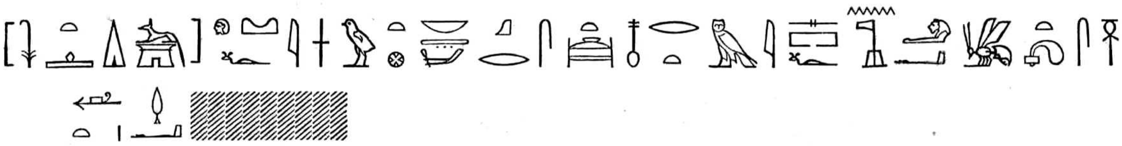


Traces of scenes remain on the upper portion of the wall, but they are too mutilated to show what

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

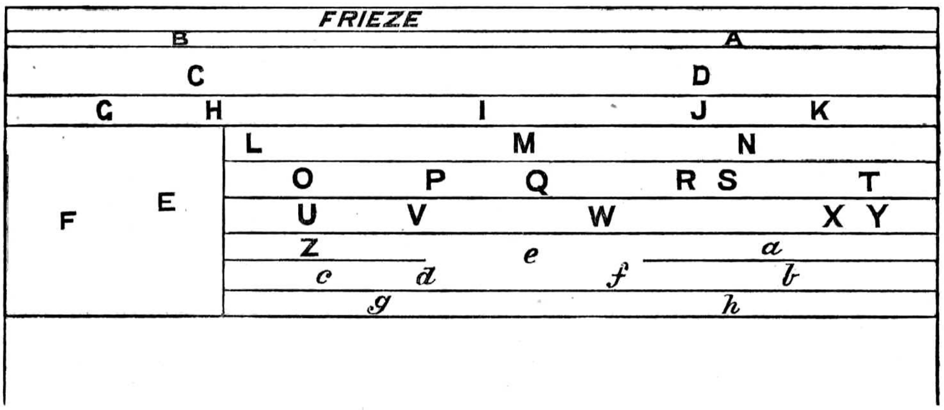
they were intended to depict. On the lower half are two large figures of Baqt (?). One of these represents him standing with the right arm raised in the act of adoration. The other figure is seated. They are both much mutilated.

On the North-west wall, immediately below the frieze, is a line of painted hieroglyphs ⋙→, giving the *Ṭá ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis and titles of Baqt. The beginning and the end of the inscription is destroyed. It runs :—



The paintings on this wall are also too mutilated to trace. On the right-hand side of the upper half of the wall is apparently represented a large papyrus marsh with lotus pools and men harvesting the papyrus (compare the corresponding wall in Tomb No. 17, Pl. xi.). On the lower half is perhaps a row of priests sacrificing oxen.

North Wall. (See Key plan B, and Pl. iv.)



Immediately below the frieze is [A, B] a line of painted hieroglyphs ←⋘, giving the *Ṭá ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris, with titles and name of Baqt. The inscription reads :—

Ṭá ḥetep seten	*Ásár neb Ṭáṭu khent amentiu*	*neb Abṭu*
May the King give an offering	(and) Osiris Lord of Tatu *khent amenti,*	Lord of Abydos,

qrest nefert	*ent ámakhy*	*mery Khnem neb Ḥerur*	*mery Ḥeqt Ḥeruryt*
a good burial	for the worthy one,	beloved of Khnem, Lord of Herur,	beloved of Heqt of Herur,

mery Ḥet-ḥeru nebt Neferus	*ḥesy en Ḥeru ḥe rekhyt*	*ḥá*
beloved of Hathor, mistress of Neferus,	favoured of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt,	the *ha*-prince,

ám-á	*sáḥu báti*	*semer uáti*
favoured of the (royal) hand,	*sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt,	confidential friend of the King,

ḥer ṭep áa en Maḥez	*má qeṭ-ef*	*ám-ás*	*ári Nekhen*
Great Chief of the Oryx nome	to its entirety,	He who is in the chamber,	He who belongs to the city of Nekhen,

ḥer ṭep Nekheb	*rekh seten maá ḥesy-ef*	*Baqtá*	*mes en Ḥetep-er-fu*
Chief of the city of Nekheb,	true acquaintance of the King whom he praises,	Baqta,	born of Hoteperfu.

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

The scenes, arranged in six rows of varying height, show the owner of the tomb hunting and fowling, as well as several arts, trades, and games.

Row 1. Hunting in the desert with netting [C-D].

Row 2. The barber, *k͟hȧq*, "shaving," and the chiropodist *ȧrt ȧnt*, "doing the nails" [G]. The *sȧḥu en ḥenket*, "master of the linen," and linen manufacturers [H-I]. Spinners and twine manufacturers [J]. A quarrel which armed men are called in to stop (?), and Painters [K].

At the west end of the wall [at E and F] are two large standing figures, one of Baqt, who holds in his left hand a staff and in his right a bâton of office; the other of his daughter Hathor-neferheputa, who holds in her right hand a full-blown lotus-flower, and in her left a staff. Above and in front of the painted figure of Baqt his name and titles are given in painted hieroglyphs. The corresponding horizontal and vertical inscriptions for Hathor-neferheputa read:—*Ȧmak͟hyt k͟her Ȧnpu ṭep ṭu-ef sat-ef mert-ef, Ḥetherneferḥeputȧ*, "Devoted towards Anubis, Upon his hill, his daughter, his beloved one, Hathor-neferheputa."

Row 3. Occupations of women. Spinning and weaving [M], superintended by the *mer......tet*, "superintendent of the weavers" [L]. Female acrobats, and women playing with the ball [N] (see a specimen group in coloured Pl. viiiA.).

Row 4. Herdsmen leading cattle [O]. Tax-gathering: defaulters brought before a scribe, who writes upon a papyrus roll [P, Q]. Four men clapping hands to beat time [R]. Manufacturers of flint knives [S]. Sandal-makers [T].

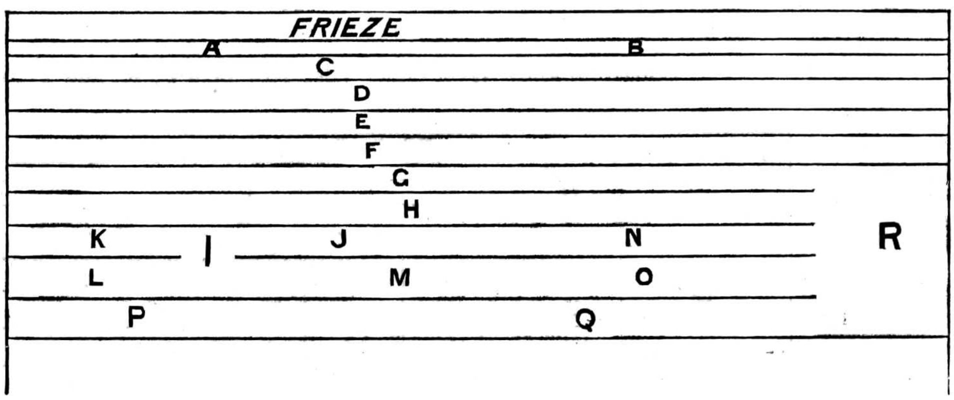
Row 5. Herdsmen leading cattle [U]. Musicians [V]. Goldsmiths [W]. Painters and sculptors [X, Y].

Row 6. Men fishing [*c*]. A party in canoes upon the water, with Baqt and his wife (?) fowling in a papyrus marsh [*e*]. On each side are two boats, the crews apparently quarrelling [*d*, *f*]. In the spaces above and on the right [at Z, *a* and *b*] are depicted a series of birds with their names written above them in green hieroglyphs. Below, are different species of fish and a hippopotamus in the water.

Beneath the wall paintings is a dado 3 feet 3 inches high, of plain unpainted stone.

The pilaster and eastern end of the North wall (see Key plan, C, D) are unpainted.

East Wall. (See Key plan E, F, and Pls. v. and viii.)



Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B] giving the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris (with the same titles as on the North wall), a prayer for *perk͟heru* offerings, and the name and titles of Baqt. The scenes are arranged in nine rows of nearly equal height.

Rows 1-6 [C-H]. Wrestling: two hundred and twenty groups showing as many attitudes. The wrestling is between two Egyptians, one painted a clear red, the other of a red-brown hue,

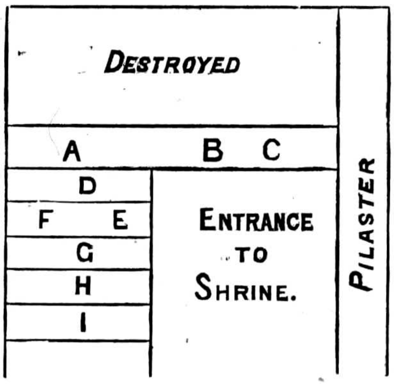
Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

probably coloured thus to distinguish more clearly the entwined limbs of the opponent wrestlers. For a specimen group see the coloured Pl. viii.

Rows 7-9. Battle scene showing soldiers [J-Q] attacking a fortress [I], and encounters between foot-soldiers on the plain. The vacant space on the right-hand side of the bottom rows [at R] was never filled in by the ancient artist. In the tomb of Khety (No. 17) the corresponding place on the wall is occupied by a list of offerings (see Pl. xv.).

Below the paintings is a plain unpainted dado 2 feet 8 inches in height.

SOUTH WALL: East end. (See Key plan G, and Pl. vi.)



The frieze, inscription, and two upper rows of this wall are destroyed. The paintings lost here probably represented a vintage scene, grape gathering, &c. (Compare Tomb No. 17, Pl. xvi.)

Row 3. End of the vintage scene [C]. Tree with birds and trap [A, B].

Row 4. Man standing; in front of him, two species of baboon, a cat, and a rat.

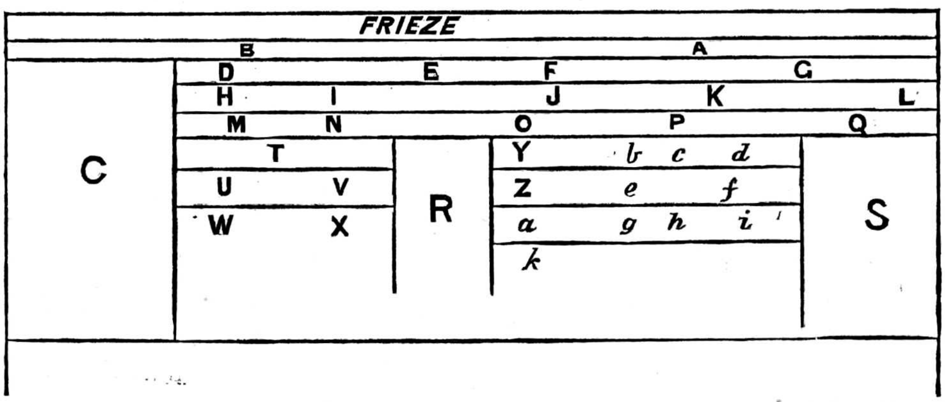
Row 5. Two men pounding some substance in a large earthenware pot [F]. Women grinding corn and preparing bread [E].

Row 6. Two men and two women engaged in making confectionery [G].

Rows 7 and 8. Men bringing the offerings, when prepared, of meat, beer, &c., towards a scribe [H, I].

The pilaster (see Key plan I, and diagram of wall painting) is unpainted.

SOUTH WALL: West end. (See Key plan J, K, and Pl. vii.)



Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B] ←, giving the *Ṭā ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris, to Anubis, and to Khnem Lord of Herur, and demanding *perkheru* offerings for Baqta,

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

"son of Remushen and Hoteperfu," with his usual titles and *mery Ptaḥ Seker*, "beloved of Ptah Socaris," *mery neb-ef maȧ ḥesy-ef em ḳert heru ent rȧ neb*, "beloved of his lord (the King) truly whom he praises, from day to day" (lit.: "in that which belongs to the day of every day").

On the left-hand side of this wall [at C] is painted a colossal figure of Baqt, who holds in his left hand a staff and in his right a bâton. In front of him stands a hawk with mutilated head. Above and in front of him are given his name and titles in painted hieroglyphs.

Row 1. Procession of the statue of Baqt in a naos drawn by seven men [D]. In front are four male dancers with four men beating time; six female dancers and four women beating time [E, F]. The procession is headed by a scribe, to whom a number of men are bringing the funeral outfit of clothing, ornaments, weapons, &c. [G].

Row 2. Scene representing the stock-taking of oxen. Scribe registering the numbers [H]. A defaulter being bastinadoed [I]. Other defaulters are brought forward by officers [J]. Herdsmen leading and driving cattle from the farms [K]. Preparing *k̲h̲az*-food for cattle [L].

Row 3. Scene representing the stock-taking of asses. Scribes registering accounts [M]. A group of women standing and sitting are apparently being ordered away [N]. Group of men brought up by the attendants, and a man driving a troop of asses [O, P]. Herdsmen tending cattle (bull-fight, &c.) [Q].

Rows 4-8 are interrupted by a large standing figure of Baqt, and form three sections. At the bottom there was probably another continuous row, which has now been entirely destroyed.

Section I. At the east end. Artificers.

Row 4. Potters at the wheel [T].

Row 5. Potters at the kiln [U]. Men straightening rods of wood [V].

Row 6. Metal-workers [W]. The remaining portion of the row is much mutilated [X].

Section II. In the centre. Field work.

A large standing figure of Baqt, who holds in his right hand a full-blown lotus-lily, and in his left a staff. Above him in two horizontal lines are given his name and titles. In front is a vertical line of hieroglyphs, reading:—*maa kat sek̲h̲et ȧn ḥȧ ḥer ṭep ȧa en Maḥez ȧmak̲h̲ Baqtȧ*, "watching the work of the fields by the *ha*-prince, the Great Chief of the Oryx nome, the devoted one Baqt."

Section III. At the west end.

A part of this section contains the field scenes referred to in the last; the other part represents exercises and games.

Sub-section I. Field work.

Row 4. Herdsmen with ox and calves [Y].

Row 5. Men bringing wild fowl and papyrus and lotus flowers [Z].

Row 6. Men fowling with a clap-net in a papyrus marsh [*a*].

Sub-section II. Exercises and games.

Row 4 (continued). The game of thimble-ring (?) [*b*]. A game with spikes [*c*]. Three men exercising with clubs [*d*].

Row 5 (continued). Prisoners' base (?) [*e*, *f*].

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

Row 6 (continued). "Counting on the head and on the hands": a game [*g*]. Another game, and men playing draughts [*h*].

Rows 7 and 8. One scene showing men catching fish with a net [*i*]; the lower half of this scene is destroyed.

At the western end of the wall [at S] was painted a large standing figure of Baqt, who apparently watched the games. Above and in front of him are painted his name and titles. The figure is almost entirely destroyed.

An opening (see Key plan H) in the south-west wall leads into the Shrine. The paintings within it are too much defaced to copy. Upon the east and south walls are scenes representing the sacrifice of an ox and men preparing viands (see Champollion's *Monuments, Notices Descriptives*, Tome ii., f. 368). Against the west wall is a small altar, mutilated (see Pl. ii., plan).

TOMB No. 17.

TOMB OF THE  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE ORYX NOME,"

 KHETY.

(PLATES IX.—XIX.)

FORMER DESCRIPTIONS AND COPIES.

The tomb was first described by

JOMARD in 1798 (*Description de l'Egypte*, Antiq., Tome iv., pp. 335-347). In March, 1825, it was visited by

JAMES BURTON (Diary, 1825, March 12-15, Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* No. 25637, ff. 2, 4, 73; Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* No. 25657, f. 9); and three years later by the members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition under

CHAMPOLLION and ROSELLINI (Tomb of "Rotei," Champollion's *Lettres écrits*, p. 42; *Monuments*, pls. ccclxxx. and cclxxi., &c.; *Notices*, Tome ii., ff. 334-358; *Papiers de Champollion*, Supplément 36 ff. 81-128, in the Bibl. Nat. Paris; Rosellini's *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, II. *Mon. civili*, pls. ii., x., xv., &c.; and *MSS.* in the Library of the University at Pisa). Small scale copies of the paintings of the North wall (western half) and of the West wall were made by

ROBERT HAY in 1828, and copies of these were afterwards coloured for him by Dupuy in 1833 (see his journal in Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29857, ff. 97-120; copies in Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29847, f. 10; Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29813, ff. 46-50, 55, 74-78). A few of the scenes were also traced and coloured (Brit. Mus. *Add. MS.* 29850, ff. 64, 72, &c.). Several of the scenes were copied by

WILKINSON in 1834 (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 1878, vol. i., pp. 203, 371, 394, &c., and *MSS.* in the possession of Sir Vauncey Crewe); and some of the inscriptions by the members of the Prussian Expedition under

LEPSIUS in 1842 (see *MSS.* at Berlin and *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii., Bl. 142, *h-k*, Bl. 143, *a-d*; *Briefe*, p. 97-100).

TOMB No. 17.

Period: XIth Dynasty.
(See Pt. I., General Notice, § 3.)

Position: Southern Group.
(Sketch Survey, Pt. I., Pl. ii. No. 17.)

NAME, RANK, TITLES AND PARENTAGE OF THE OWNER OF THE TOMB.

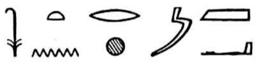
Name.  Khety.

Rank. Governor of the Oryx nome, the XVIth nome of Upper Egypt.

Titles.  *ḥȧ*, "*Ha*-prince."

 *sȧḥu bȧti*, "*Sahu* (treasurer?) of the King of Lower Egypt."

 *semer uȧti*, "Confidential friend of the King."

 *rekh seten maȧ*, "True royal acquaintance."

 *ḥer ṭep ȧa en Maḥez mȧ qeṭ-ef*, "Great Chief of the Oryx nome to its entirety."

[*mer set ȧbtet* (?), "Administrator of the Eastern Desert" (see fanciful hieroglyphs, Pl. xiv. and p. 58).]

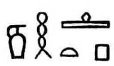
 *mer meshȧ em set nebt sheta*[*t*], "Captain of the soldiers in all difficult places."

 *ȧm-ȧs*, "He who is in the chamber." (Legal title.)

 *ȧri Nekhen*, "He who belongs to the city of Nekhen." (Legal title.)

 *ḥer ṭep Nekheb*, "Chief of the city of Nekheb." (Legal title.)

Parentage, &c. *Father:*  Baqt.

Wife:  Khnemhotep.

Son:  Khety (see Pl. xviii. and p. 62).

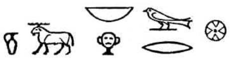
RELIGION.

Religion.

No representation of any divinity occurs in the tomb. Prayers are addressed to the two chief funerary gods, Osiris and Anubis.

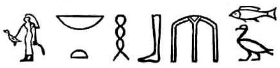
Besides Osiris and Anubis the following deities, all of whom appear to be local, are named in the inscriptions : —

 *Ḥeru ḥe rekhyt*, "Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt."

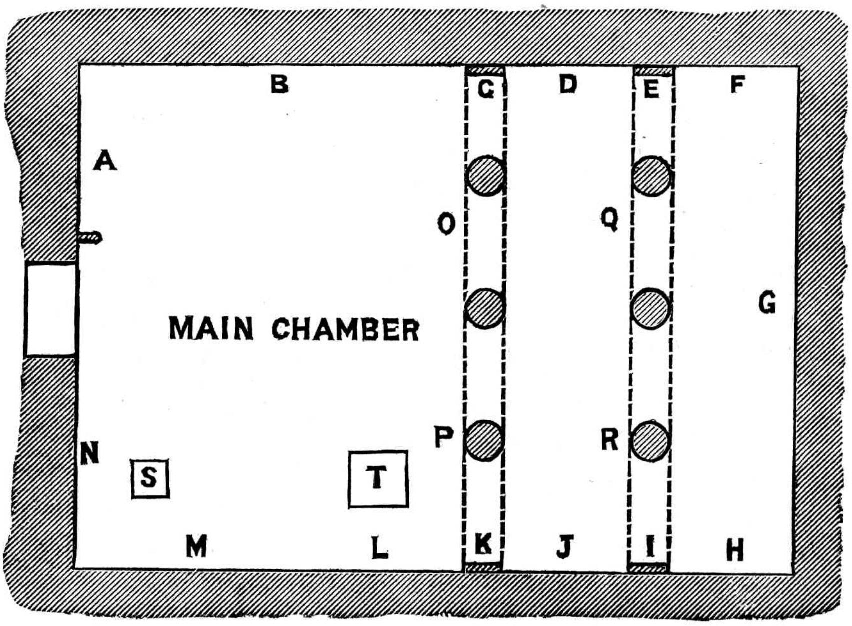
 *Khnem neb Ḥerur*, "Khnem, Lord of Herur."

 *Ḥet-ḥeru nebt Neferus*, "Hathor, Lady of Neferus."

 *Ḥeqt Ḥeruryt*, "Heqt of Herur."

 *Sekhet nebt ḥeb*, "Sekhet, Mistress of hunting."

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB.



KEY PLAN.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

(*See Plates IX. and X.*)

Architectural Features.

The façade of the tomb is cut into the side of the cliff, and in it is hewn a large plain doorway, without architectural features (see Pl. ix.). In plan the main chamber is rectangular. The eastern half

Architectural Features (cont.) is crossed by two rows of three quatrefoil columns of the lotus-bud type (see Pl. x.), two of which are still intact. The architraves above them run transversely to the axis of the tomb; upon these are painted hieroglyphic inscriptions (see Pl. xviii.). Where the architraves abut against the walls there are antae of slight projection. The rock ceiling is "cambered" in the form of a very flat arch. The columns (see Pl. x. for a specimen) are elaborately painted, and represent four lotus stems with unopened buds: the stems are tied together immediately below the calyx by five cords of different colours, the ends of which appear above and below, and are coloured blue. The buds which form the capital are painted blue, the edges of the sepals being indicated by a white line edged with red. The shaft is divided into nine bands of colour, the eight upper ones being of equal breadth, while the lowest is three times broader. The abacus is coloured blue; the base is unpainted. There are two mummy-pits, both of which are situated in the southern part of the tomb.

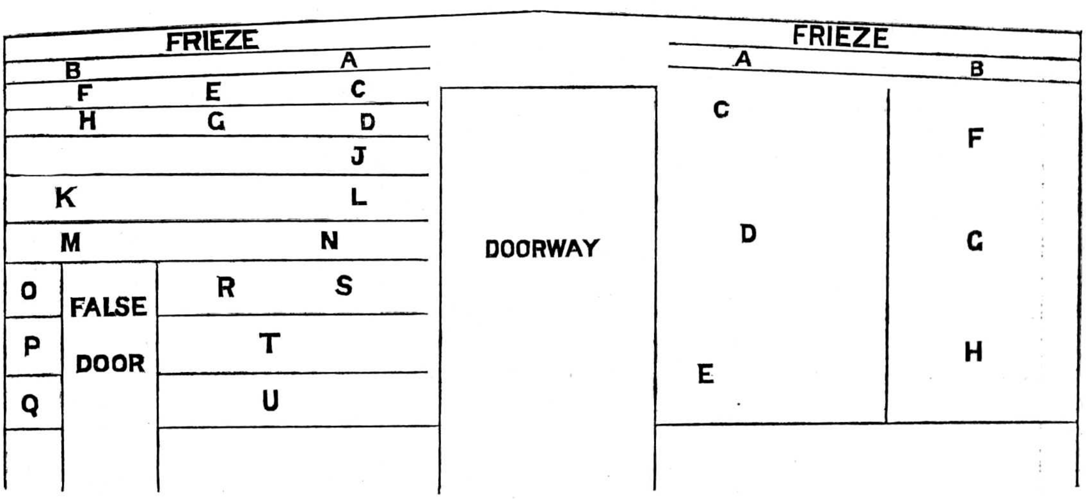
PAINTINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

(*Plates XI.—XIX.*)

Frieze, &c. The frieze consists of the usual kheker ornament, and below it runs the border of coloured rectangles. The latter also forms an edging to the paintings on all the walls. The ceiling and dado are plain.

Style of Painting. The style of painting is uniform throughout the tomb, and is exceedingly coarse. The human figure is badly drawn in every case (note especially the large standing figure on Pl. xi., and the larger figures on Pl. xvii.). The hieroglyphs are also ill-formed and badly painted. The subjects of the paintings on the North-west and East walls bear a close resemblance to those on the corresponding walls of Tomb No. 15 (compare Pls. iv. and v.).

West Wall. (See Key plan A, and Pl. xi. and xii.)



Scenes and Inscriptions. (*a*) North side.

Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B], giving the *Ṭá ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis for a good burial, with name and titles of Khety.

The paintings on this wall are apparently unfinished and in bad condition. On the left-hand side are depicted three large figures. The upper one shows Khety harpooning fish [C]; the second, a man

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

holding a club [D]; and the third, a seated figure of Khety with face turned towards the door [E]. To the right of these figures are scenes on a small scale consisting of eight rows of pools of water with clumps of papyrus and lotus plants. The scenes show boating [F], fishing and fowling [G, H] in the papyrus marshes, and amongst the animals are represented hippopotami, wild boars, and calves (?).

(*b*) South side.

Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B], giving the *Ṭà ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis for a good burial, with name and titles of Khety.

The scenes, which are arranged in eight rows of varying height, are in bad condition. The first five rows, representing various occupations, are divided from those below, which represent offerings, &c., by a horizontal line of rectangles.

Rows 1 and 2. On the right are representations of desert country [C, D], and above them [at A, B] two hieratic inscriptions, which have been copied by Champollion (see *Monuments de l'Egypte, Notices Descriptives,* Tome ii., p. 336). In the middle are goats, with goatherds, pasturing among trees on the edge of the desert [E, G]. On the left are oxen and asses with herdsmen [F, H].

Row 3. Oxen with herdsmen [I, J].

Rows 4 and 5. Scenes of ships [K-N]. On the left of Row 5 are two men engaged in driving in a mooring-post with large mallets [M].

Below the horizontal line of rectangles are three rows of scenes divided by a false door.

Rows 6-8. To right of the false door, in Row 6, is painted a list of offerings in cursive hieroglyphs, much mutilated [R]. The scenes represent the sacrifice of an ox [S], and men bringing offerings [T]. The lower row is almost entirely defaced [U].

The false door is partly carved with sinkings and beads. It has a painted corvetto or palm-branch cornice, and upon it are incised inscriptions giving the *Ṭà ḥetep seten* formulas to Osiris and Anubis, together with the titles and name of Khety. In the centre are the remains of a figure of Khety, who is seated before a table of offerings. The false door is much mutilated.

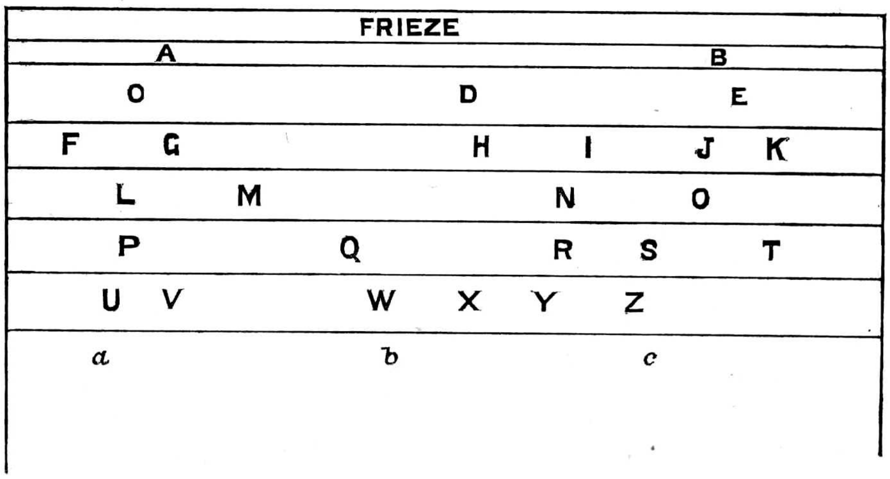
On the left-hand side are three rows of scenes representing the preparation of viands, cakes, &c.

Row 6. Woman grinding corn [O].

Row 7. Two men preparing confectionery [P].

Row 8. A man cooking [Q]. This scene is almost entirely defaced.

North Wall: West half. (See Key plan B, and Pl. xiii.)



Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

Immediately below the frieze is [A, B] a line of painted hieroglyphs ⟶, giving the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis, with titles and name of Khety. The inscription reads:—

Ṭȧ ḥetep seten — May the King give an offering
Ȧnpu khent......neter — [and] Anubis, Upon his shrine,
ṭep ṭu-ef — Upon his hill,
ȧm Ut — Within Ut,

neb Tazeser — Lord of the Sacred Land,
qrest nefert — a good burial,
em ȧs-ef [en] kher neter — in his tomb of the necropolis,
ḥȧ — the *ha*-prince,

sȧḥu bȧti — *sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt,
semer uȧti — confidential friend of the King,
ȧm-ȧs — he who is in the chamber,

ȧri Nekhen — he who belongs to the city of Nekhen,
ḥer ṭep Nekheb — chief of the city of Nekheb,
mery nut-ef — beloved of his townspeople,

ḥesy en ḥesept-ef — praised of his countrypeople,
mery Khnem neb Ḥerur — beloved of Khnem, Lord of Herur,
ḥesy en Ḥeqt Ḥeruryt — favoured of Heqt of Herur,

ḥer ṭep ȧa en Maḥez — Great Chief of the Oryx nome,
Baqt sa Khety — Baqt's son Khety.

The scenes are arranged in six rows of varying height.

Row 1. Hunting in the desert with netting (the network is much faded) [C, D, E]. Compare this row with Row 1 on the corresponding wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. iv.).

Row 2. The barber *khȧq*, "shaving" [F]. The *sȧhu en ḥenket*, "master of the linen," and linen manufacturers [G]. Spinners [H]. Net-making [I], and weaving [J, K]. Compare this row with Row 2 on the corresponding wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. iv.).

Row 3. Occupations of women. Spinning and weaving superintended by the *mer.........tet*, "Superintendent of the weavers" [L, M]. Female acrobats and women playing at ball [N, O]. Compare this row with Row 3 on the corresponding wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. iv.).

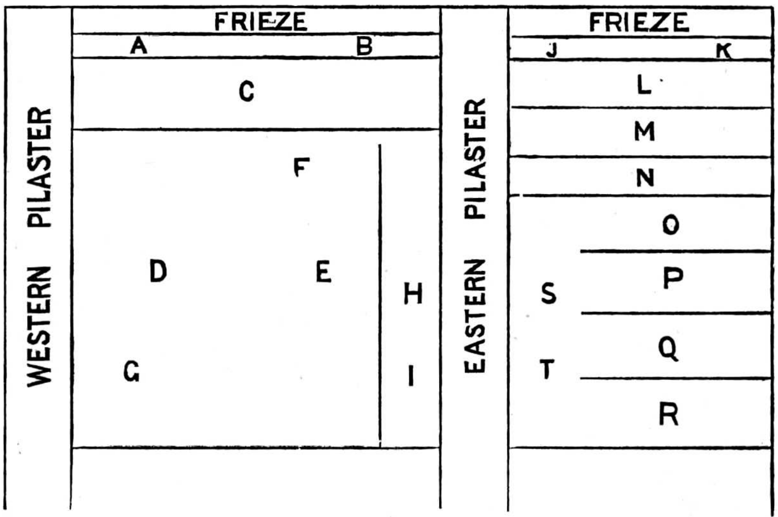
Row 4. Procession of the statues of Khety and his wife in a naos drawn by seven men [P]. In front are four male dancers pirouetting, and four men clapping their hands to beat time [Q]; three girls clapping hands to beat time [R]; and six female dancers [S]. It is headed by ten men, who are bringing the funerary outfit of clothing, ornaments, weapons, &c. [J]. Compare this row with Row 1 on the South wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. vii.).

Row 5. A sculptor and a painter at work [U]. Carpenter at work [V]. Painters at work [W]. Two couples playing at draughts [X]. A game (? a water-bowl and skin, cp. Pl. vii.) [Y]. Men engaged in straightening rods of wood [Z]. The remaining scenes in this row are cut away.

Row 6. Much mutilated, and the east end entirely broken away. At the west end is the upper part of a scene showing men catching fish with a net [*a*]. In the centre are the remains of a scene representing five men engaged in catching birds with a clap-net [*b*], whilst to the right are traces of a series of birds [*c*]. Compare this row with Row 6 on the corresponding wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. iv.).

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

North Wall: East half. (See Key plan C-F, and Pl. xiv.)



(*a*) Western pilaster (see Key plan C, and diagram of wall).

Upon this pilaster is painted a vertical line of fanciful and semi-comic hieroglyphs, bordered at the top and sides by the usual pattern of rectangles. So far as they can be deciphered they read as follows:—

uas nek	*ṭeṭ*	*ȧnkh*	*mer-ek ḥeḥu [en] ḥemut*
Wealth to thee,	stability	[and] life.	Mayest thou love millions of groups of women,

.........*sepṭ bau-ek*	*rekh seten*	*Khety*	*mer set ȧbtet* (?)
....	the royal acquaintance,	Khety,	Administrator of the Eastern Desert (?)

ȧn khert ȧb seten	*mery Ḥeru ḥe Rekhyt*	*Khety.*
bringing the desire of the heart of the King,	beloved of Horus, Smiter of the Rekhyt,	Khety.

Between the two pilasters (see Key plan D) are painted various scenes, including a large standing figure of Khety and a smaller one of Khnemhotep (his wife). Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B], giving the name and titles of Khety. Among the latter are:—

meḥ ȧb en seten em qemȧu	and	*ȧrer mer meshȧ em set-nebt sheta[t]*
filling the heart of the King in the south,		he who performs [the office of] captain of the host in every difficult place.

Below is a hunting scene, showing men lassooing animals in a tract of desert enclosed with nets [C]. The paintings in the lower part of the wall show Khety standing, holding in his right hand a staff and in his left a bâton of office [D]. In front of him are three dogs [G]. Behind is a figure of Khnemhotep (Khety's wife), holding buds and full-blown flowers of the lotus in her hands [E]. Above her is a horizontal line of painted hieroglyphs, reading:—

ȧmakhyt kher Ḥet-ḥeru nebt Neferus Khnemḥetep
"The devoted one towards Hathor, the Lady of Neferus, Khnemhotep."

Above again [at F] are depicted two male and two female musicians. Enclosing these paintings are two vertical lines of hieroglyphs and one horizontal, giving titles and name of Khety. Between the right-hand vertical line and the eastern pilaster are shown two bird-traps [H], and a papyrus and lotus marsh [I], beyond which is a piece of the usual coloured rectangle border.

Scenes and Inscriptions *(cont.)*

(*b*) Eastern pilaster (see Key plan E, and diagram of wall).

Down the middle of the pilaster is painted a vertical line of fanciful and semi-comic hieroglyphs, bordered at the top and sides by the usual coloured rectangle pattern. So far as they can be deciphered, they read as follows:—

Ḥȧ	*sȧḥu bȧti*	*semer uȧti*
The *ha*-prince,	*sahu* of the King of Lower Egypt,	confidential friend of the King,
ȧri Nekhen (? ?)	*mery nut-ef* (?)	*ḥesy en ḥesept-ef*
He who belongs to the city of Nekhen (? ?),	beloved of his townspeople (?),	praised of his countrypeople,

Khety
Khety. (For the erased sign *vide* Lepsius, *Denkmäler,* Abth. ii., Bl. 143 b.)

At the east end of the wall the paintings are divided into seven rows of varying height. Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [J, K] giving the name and titles of Khety.

Rows 1 and 2. Men carrying baskets and water-skins, and three men armed with bows and arrows [L, M].

Row 3. Metal-workers and a scribe writing [N].

Row 4. Herdsmen with domesticated gazelles [O].

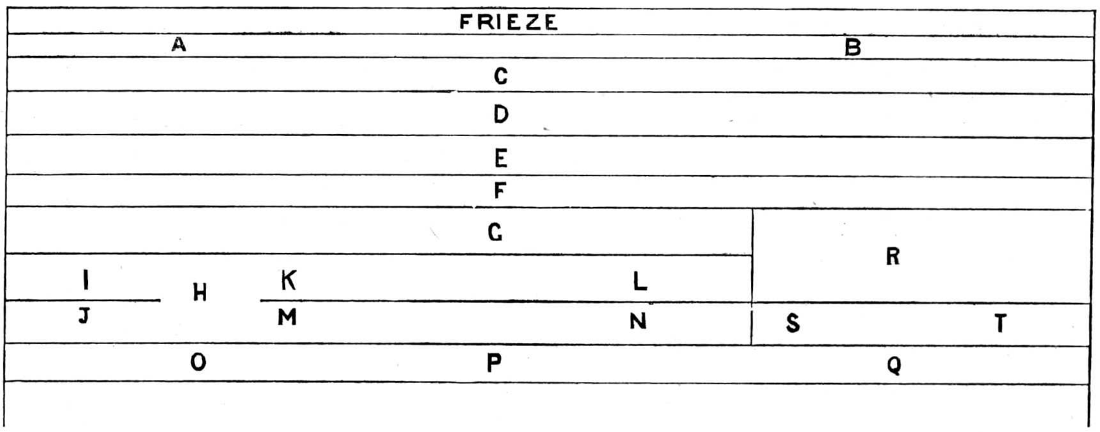
Row 5. Oryxes [P].

Row 6. A flock of geese [Q].

Row 7. A flock of cranes [R].

On the left-hand side of the lower portion of the wall, and occupying in height Rows 4-7, are shown a tree [S] with birds flying (one of which is a conventionalized hawk carrying an egg (?) in its claws), and below it two bird-traps [T].

East Wall. (See Key plan G, and Pl. xv.).



Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B], mutilated at the beginning and end, giving the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula (?) to Anubis, together with the name and titles of Khety. The scenes are arranged in eight rows of varying height. Compare these with the similar scenes on the corresponding wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. v.).

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

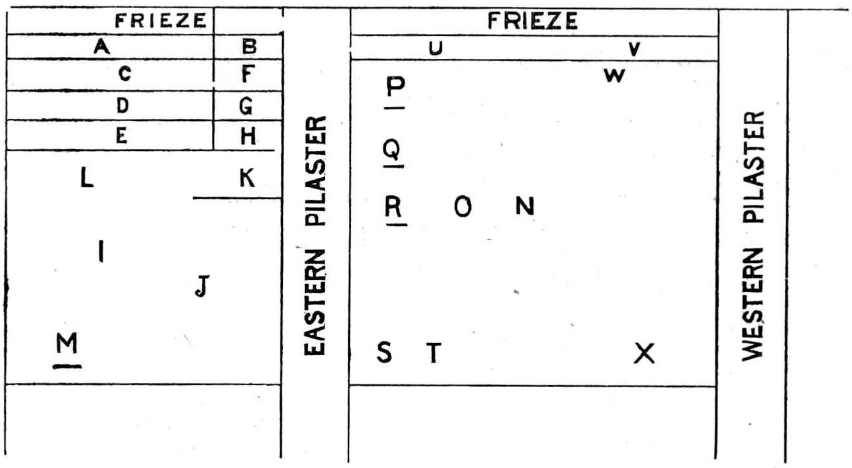
Rows 1-5. Wrestling. One hundred and twenty-two groups, showing as many attitudes [C-G.] N.B.—The match is between two Egyptians, both coloured the same tint in the original, but for the sake of distinctness in the Plate, one of each pair has been drawn in outline. For the cursive inscriptions over the groups lettered A-J see Pl. xix.

Rows 6-7. Battle scene [I-N] showing soldiers attacking a fortress [H].

Row 8. An encounter between foot-soldiers on the plain [O-Q].

On the right-hand side of Rows 5-7 is depicted a scene showing a statue of Khety in a naos [S], men sacrificing an ox, baskets of provisions and jars of wine [T]. Above is a name-list of one hundred and twelve offerings [R].

SOUTH WALL: East half. (See Key plan H-K, and Pl. xvi.).



(*a*) East end.

The upper part of the wall is divided into two sections, separated by a vertical line of coloured rectangles.

Section I. At the top, immediately below the frieze, is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A], reading →, giving the name and titles of Khety. Below are three rows of scenes.

Rows 1 and 2. A vintage scene, grape gathering, &c. [C, D].

Row 3. Tree with birds and bird-traps. The bird to the right appears to be caught in a noose [E].

Section II. At the top, immediately below the frieze, is a line of painted hieroglyphs [B], reading ←, giving the name of Khety. Below are representations of games, one group in each row.

Row 1. A man being carried by two others [F].

Row 2. A game [G].

Row 3. A game [H].

Upon the lower part of the wall is painted a large figure of Khety clad in a leopard-skin garment, and holding in his right hand a staff and in his left a bâton of office [I]. In front of him is a hawk-headed monster named *saḳ*, wearing a collar as if tame [L], and at his feet a dog [M]. Behind him is a large standing figure of *ḥemt-ef mert-ef Khnemḥetep*, "his wife, his beloved one, Khnemhotep" [J]; above her are two musicians and a woman (? a nurse) with a male child at her breast [K]. Behind her is painted a lotus-bud column.

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

The horizontal line of hieroglyphs above the large standing figure of Khety gives his usual titles and others in fanciful hieroglyphs, which may be interpreted—

àq ḥàti per peḥ.........(?).........
"entering first, going out last".........(?).........

The vertical line in front gives his name and titles.

(*a*) Eastern Pilaster (see Key plan I, and diagram of wall).

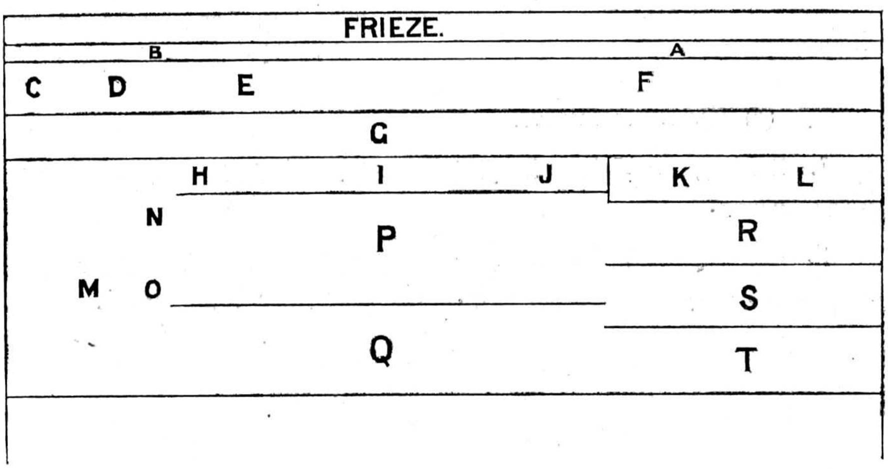
Upon this pilaster are painted, in eight groups, scenes representing games and diversions, in rows one above another. Compare the games depicted on the South wall of Tomb No. 15 (see Pl. vii.).

Between the two pilasters (Key plan J) is painted a colossal figure of Khety, who holds in his left hand a staff and in his right a bâton of office [N]. Behind him stands a man holding a parasol over his head [O]; the *mer.........ḥenket*, "superintendent of the washing of linen" [P]; an attendant [Q]; and the *sàḥt* (?) *kher thebti*, "sandal-bearer" [R]. Beneath are two dwarfs, *nemu* and *zeneb* [S, T]. At Khety's feet are three dogs and a baboon [X]. The horizontal and vertical lines of inscription [U-W] give the name and titles of Khety, among which latter is *àr menu nu neḥeḥ em ḥet neter Khnem neb Ḥerur*, "making monuments of eternity in the temple of Khnem, Lord of Herur."

(*b*) Western Pilaster (see Key plan K, and diagram of wall).

Upon this pilaster are painted six groups of foot-soldiers carrying arms.

SOUTH WALL: West half. (See Key plan L, M, and Pl. xvii.)



Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs [A, B], reading ←, giving the name and titles of Khety. He is noted as *mery net-ef*, "beloved of his townsmen;" *ḥesy en ḥesept-ef*, "favoured of his countrypeople;" *ààu Nekht em set neb, ḥetepu neteru em àrert[ef] àmakhet Khety*, "heir of Nekht in every place, by whose deeds the gods are pacified."

The scenes are arranged in five rows of varying height.

Row 1. Procession of the statue of Khety in a naos [C]. In front are three men dancing, with three others clapping hands to beat time [D]; three female dancers and three women beating time [E]. The procession is headed by an officer, to whom a number of men are bringing joints of meat and other viands [F].

Row 2. Herdsmen leading and driving cattle [G].

Scenes and Inscriptions (*cont.*)

Row 3. Men sacrificing oryxes and a bull [H]. Others driving donkeys saddled with panniers [I] towards a superintendent, and five men who are reaping [J]. To the right is depicted a granary, with men at work filling and carrying sacks of corn [K]; three tables laden with boxes, sacks (such as are used for the more precious stibium and other valuable minerals and metals), and sheaves of arrows (?) [L].

At the eastern end of this wall, and occupying Rows 3-6 in height, is a large seated figure of Khety [M] with a scribe and a priest burning incense in a censer before him [N].

Before Khety is a large altar laden with offerings [O], and to it, in Rows 4 and 5, men are bringing offerings of food, lotus flowers, &c. [P, Q].

At the western end of Rows 4 and 5 the space is sub-divided into three parts. The upper sub-division shows men gathering flax [R]; the centre and lower one, men ploughing with oxen [S, T]. In the centre of the wall, from the middle of Row 4 to the bottom of Row 5, there is a recess, roughly cut at a later period through the paintings: on the east side of this excavation Champollion has inscribed his initials.

ARCHITRAVES.

Upon the architraves are painted four inscriptions, a hand copy of which may be found on Pl. xviii.

(*a*) Western architrave.

1. Reading ⤞→, gives the name and titles of Khety; among the latter are—*ȧr ḥetep neter en neteru neb en Maḥez,* "making divine offerings to all the gods of the Oryx nome."

2. Reading ←⤝, gives the name and titles of Khety with *ȧn qemȧu mȧ qeṭ-ef,* "pillar of the entire south;" *ur remu,* "great of fishes;" *ȧsha apṭu,* "abundant of wild fowl;" *mery Se<u>kh</u>et nebt ḥeb,* "beloved of Sekhet, mistress of hunting;" *ȧrer ren[ef ḥer] menu nu zet ȧn sa-ef ȧȧy-ef <u>Kh</u>ety,* "one whose name is written upon monuments of eternity by his son and heir, Khety."

(*b*) Eastern architrave.

1. Reading ⤞→, gives the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis and Osiris, together with the name and titles of Khety.

2. Reading ←⤝, gives the *Ṭȧ ḥetep seten* formula to Anubis for a good burial and the prayer for a good burial, with the titles of Khety. The inscription is unfinished.

THE

GREEK AND COPTIC GRAFFITI.

THE

GREEK AND COPTIC GRAFFITI.

The following is a list of the Greek and Coptic Graffiti on the walls of the tombs at Beni Hasan. Several of those from Tomb No. 15 were copied by Champollion and published in the *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, Notices descriptives,* Tome ii., f. 384. Prof. Sayce has also published a list of the Coptic Graffiti, but it is far from complete; it may be found in the fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (pp. 117-121). The Greek inscriptions record the names of visitors to the tombs. The Coptic graffiti consist principally of the names of the Trinity and of saints and holy men of the Old and New Testament, as well as of hermits who probably dwelt in the tombs. In Tomb No. 23 is a curious table of the Greek alphabet, written by a Copt (see Pl. xxv., A, B, C). He has first written it out in correct order, then inverted it, and thirdly, arranged the letters so that the first is next to the last, the second to the last but one. Below these alphabets are syllables, first of one consonant and a vowel (see Pl. xxv., D, E), then of a vowel between two consonants (F-H). At *e* are noted the six additional letters of the Coptic alphabet.

Tomb No. 2.

Near the top of the first left-hand column of the Main Chamber :—

1. ΠΤΟΛΕ	
ΜΑΙΟϹ	"I, Ptolemy,
ΑΠΟΛ	the son of
ΛΩΝΙΟ[Υ]	Apollonius,
[Η]ΚΩ//////	have come."
///////////////	

Tomb No. 3.

On the right jamb of the entrance to the Main Chamber :—

2. ΑΠΑΠΪΩΤ (scratched)

On the East wall (south side) :—

3. ΜЄΝΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝΠΑ[ϢΗΡ]Є (in black [ink)
4. ΙϹΑΚΚΟΥЄ̅Ι̅ (in black ink)
5. ΠΙΩΤΠϢΗЄΡЄΠЄΠΝ̅Α̅ϪЄ//////////Α/////////
[ϨΑΜΗΝ. ⳨ (in red ink)

Tomb No. 13.

On the left-hand door-post :—

6. ΑΠΑΠΑΠΝΟΥΤЄ (scratched)

Tomb No. 14.

On the North wall :—

7. ЄΙϹ ΘЄΟϹ (in red ink) "One God."

Tomb No. 15.

On the North wall (all are written in red ink) :—

8. ΠΟΥΜΗΝΑϨ
ΜΟΥϹΪ
ΪΩϨΑΝΝΗϹ
9. [Τ]ΑΝΪΙΗϪ
10. ΑΠΑΝΟΥΤЄ
11. ЄΝΩΧ ΦΙΝЄΑϹ
ϨΑΜΩϹ ΟϹΗЄ ΙΩΗϪ
ΙΑΚΩΒ ΑΠΑΝΟΥΤЄ
12. ΑΠΑ

13. ΩΞ
ΩΝ
ΗΡ
ΓΕ

14. ΑΠΑϨΩΡ

15. ΙΩΒ ΝΩϨΕ
////////ΠΧ̄ΧΜΓ
ΠϪΙΑϨΜΟ

16. ΝΩϨΕΜΝΑΚΪΗΩΞΛΨΖΑΝΕ

17. ΦΙΝΕΑϹ

18. ΕΝΩΧ
ΜΝΝΩϨΕ

19. ΜΑΡΘΗ

20. ΟϬΗΕΪΩΗΛ ϨΑΜΩϹ ΤΑΝΙΙΗΛ
ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕϹΥΗΕΡΟΚ
ΙΩΚΒΪϹΚΔΑVΕΪΔΠΑϢΟΙ
ϬΆΟΥΛ ΕΛΑϬΆΡ

21. ΠΙΩΤΠϢΕΡΕΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
[ΜΑΡΙΑΜΑΡΘΕ
"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, Mary and Martha."

22. ΑΠΑ

23. ΑΠΟΛΛΩ

24. ΠϪΟΕΙϹ

25. ΝΩϨΕ

26. ΠΑΠΑ

27. Χ̄Μ̄Γ̄

28. ΩϨΑΝΝΗϹ

29. ΠΑΥΛΟϹ

30. ΤΑΠΑΝΟΥΠ

31. Χ̄ΜΓ

32. ΑΠΑϨΩΡ

33. ΑΠΑϨΩΡ

34. ΑΠΑΠΦΙΒΑΩΝ ΠΑΥϹΛΟϹ
Π
ΑΒΡΑϨΑΜ>[ΙϹΑ]Κ> ΙΑΚΩΒ | ΠΑΝΟΥ.
ΠΑΠΙΥΒΑΩΝ
ΠΑΠΗϢΠΑΥΛΕ ΠΑϪΟΕΙϹ

35. ϪΠΑΗΝΜϢΙ

36. ΑΠΑΒΗϹΑ
ΙΩϹΗΦ | ΠΑΥΛΟϹ | ΑΝΤΡΕϹ
ΑΥΩΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΙΩϨΑΝΝΗϹ | ΠΕΤΡΟϹ
ΠΦΙΛΕΠΠΟϹ

37. ΠΕΡΟϹ (*sic*) ΠΑΠΟϹΤΟΛΟϹ
ΘΩΜΑϹ ΠΑΥΛΟϹ ΠΑΥΛΟϹ
ΒΑΛΘΟΛΟΜΕΟϹ

38. ΑΠΑΠΑΝΟΥΤΕΠΑΤϬϨΑΜΕϹ
ΑΠΑϨΕΛ̄ΕΝΝΑΠΑΒΕϹΑ
ΑΝΤΡΕϹΠΦΙΛΕΠΠΟϹ

39. Ϭ̄Ϊ Π̄Χ
ΑΠΑΠΑϨΜΟ
ΑΠΑΘΥΟΤΡ
ΑΠΑϨΩΡϹΙΗϹΗ
ΧΜΓ
ΙΩϨΑΝΗϹ

40. ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΗ

41. ΠϪΟΕΙϹ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

42. ΑΠΑΑΒΡζΡΗΙΚ^ϹΑΡΩΝ

43. Πȣ

44. _ΙΩϹΗΦ_
ΠΑΝΟΥΠ
ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ

45. ΜΩΥϹΗϹ | :ΕΙΗϹΟΥϹΠϢΗΕΝΝΑΥΗ
"Joshua the son of Nun."

On the North wall:—

46. _ΠΑΤΑΥΡΙΝ_

47. ΠϪΟΕΙϹ

48. ΠΙΩΤ

49. Π̄ΑΠ̄ΛΛΩ

50. ΠϢϪΟΕΙϹΠȣ

51. ϢΟΙ
ϢΛΗΛΕϪΩΪ "Pray for me."

52. ΒΙΚΤΩΡ

53. ϹΟΥ//////ΡϹΥϹ

54. ΙΑΚΩΒ
ΙζΙΑΚΩΒ

55. ΜΪΝΑ
ΜΙΝΝΑ

On the West wall :—

56. ΦΙΛΟCΗΡΟC
ΑΠΩΛΛΟ

57. ΠΑΛΟCΓΥΓΙΤΕΤΑ

TOMB No. 17.

On the left-hand door-post (scratched) :—

58. CΩCΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΘΕΙΩΜΗΤΟΥ

On the West wall (scratched) :—

59. LΚΕ ΜΕΧΕΙΡΚΕ "The year 35, the...day of
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC Mechir. Demetrius,

60. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΥ the son of Artemidorus."

61. ΤΩΝΑΦΕΡΜΟΥΠΟⲖΟΕΩC (*sic*)
"Of those from Hermopolis."

On the North wall (scratched) :—

62. ΠΙΩΤΠϢΗΡΕ
ΠΑϫΟΕΙC ✠
ΠΗΠΝΕΥΤ ΜΑΕΑΝ

On the South wall (in red ink) :—

63. ΑΜΜΩΝΕ
ΑΠΑΡΗΝΗ

TOMB No. 18.

On the West wall (scratched) :—

64. ΠΑΜΜΩΝΙ
65. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

TOMB No. 19.

On the East wall (in black ink) :—

66. Π[ΙΩΤ]ΠϢΗΡΕ : ΠΕΠΝΑ
[ΕΤΟ]ΥΑΑΒ///////////////////////////

TOMB No. 21.

On the North wall (in red ink) :—

67. ΑΠΑΪCΑΚ ΠΙΡΕΜΠΒΗϢΕΝ
"Father Isaac of Beshen."

On the East wall (in black ink) :—

68. [Β]ΙΚΤΩΡΚΟΥΙΑΡΙΤΑΚΑΠΕΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΥ
[ΕΝΤΕΝΟΥΤΕΕΡΟΙC. ΕΡΟΙϨΑΜΗΝ
"Little Victor, love and remember me, that God may watch over me, Amen."

TOMB No. 22.

On the South wall (in red ink) :—

69. ΑΠΑ (ten times repeated)

TOMB No. 24.

On the North wall (in red ink) :—

70. Coptic Alphabet or charm. See Plate XXV.

On the East wall (in red ink) :—

71. ΠΕΥΟΥΟ////ϢΠΕ | ΠΑΪΜΠ////ΤΕϨΝΑΝ
ΠΝΟΥ:ΤΕ:ΜΠΑ | ϢΪ////ΠΕΚΝ////

72. Eleven lines, viz. :—

(1) . . . . ΤΗΡΟ . . . .

(2) ⲀϨΑϨΑ

(3) ΑΗϨΕϛΤΦΑΝΩCΕΩ ΤΕΡΩΪ (Π above)

(4) Πϫ:ΟCΙ . . . ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕΑ . . . ΡΩΡΟΪϨΝ:Τ
[//// ΡΑ . . . ΝΠϫΟΕΙC | ΠΡⲀΝΠ

(5) ΤΗΡ / ᵂΕCΤ } . . . ΟΦ . . . [C] . . . ΗΡ . . . ϨΕⲀΠϫΟ .
[ΕΙCΠⲀΝΟΥΤΕ

(6) ⲀϨⲀϨ . . . Τ . . . Τ . . . ΑCΩΜΠΕC . . . ΠΕϫ
[. . . Ε.C

(7) ⲀΒC////▭ΠΕΝⲀΪΝΟΪ . . . ΕΙ | ΖΥ

(8) ΗⲖ | ΔⲖ Ͱ|Κ|ΟΥΤΪΝΑΝ[ΑΥ] ΟΥΕΠΕΡΟΥ
Πϫ
[////// ·ΟΕΙC | ΡⲀΝΠϫΟΕΙC

(9) Ε/////ΩΑΝΠ | //////ΑΕ/////////ΕΡΟΙΓⲀϫ . . .
[ΑΒΕΒΟC

(10) ⲀΙ . . . ΡΗΓΩ

(11) Ε . . . ΩΑΝΠΑΕ

73. ΠΕΝΠΑC/////
Ν///////Ω///////
/////ϫΗΝΑΡΪΒΑΪΒΟѰΜΕΙΕ || ΚΟϨΜΕΙΕ

74. ΑΒΡΑϨ///////Α:ΕΝΑΠΑ/////ΑΠ

75. ΝⲰϨ[Ⲉ]ΑΒΡΑϨΑΜ Ι[CΑ]Κ
[ΙΑΚⲰ]Β ЇⲰCΗΦ ΙⲈΥⲈC
/////////CϨCΝΗ ЇⲰϨΑΝΝΗC
ΔΑΝΙΗⲖ ΑΝΑΝЇΑC
ΜΙCΑ[ⲈⲖ]ΑΖ[Α]ΡΙΑC (?)

76. ΙⲰΚΑ[Β]

77. ΠΑΧCΤΟC
ΠΑΠΑΝΟΥΤⲈ

78. ΙΑΚⲰΒ

Tomb No. 32.

On the left-hand door-post (scratched) :—

79. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

80. ΠΑΜΜⲈΝΗCΠΑΜΜⲈΝΟΥΗΚΩΗΟΤΑ [ΥΝΙΝ

Tomb No. 33.

On the South wall (in black ink) :—

81. ΑΠΑϨⲰΡΠΡΜ	" Father Hor,
ΠⲈΜϪⲈΑϤΜ	the man of Pemje
ΤΟΝΜΜΟϤΝ	(Oxyrhynchus),
CΟΥΜΗΤΝⲈ	fell asleep on the
ΜϢЇΡϨΝΟΥⲈ	tenth day of Mechir in
ΙΡΗΝΗϨΑΜΗΝ	peace. Amen !
ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑΠΙΗΛΡΙ	Love and
ΠⲈϤΜⲈΥⲈ	remember him.
ΟΥCΝΝΙΜⲈΤ	. . . . .
///////ⲰⲰΜΠⲈϤ	. . . . ."
///////ΤΑΝ	

82. ΑΠΑΜЇΧΑΗⲖ

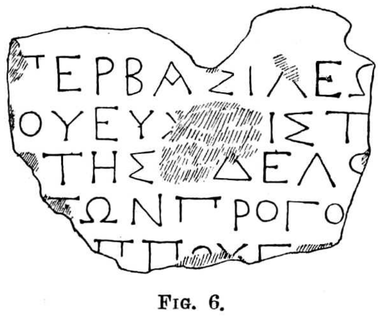


Fig. 6.

Fragment of Limestone Stela with Dedication for one of the Ptolemies.
Found in excavating the well of Tomb No. 32 : now in the Museum of Ghizeh.
[Scale 1 : 4.] [*Vide* p. 81.]

APPENDIX.

Mr. G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER'S REPORT

ON THE

TOMBS AT BENI HASAN.

Mr. G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER'S REPORT

ON THE

TOMBS AT BENI HASAN.[1]

I. NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURE.

The tombs at Beni Hasan are grouped in two ranges, facing west, the upper range alone having chambers still remaining over the tomb-shafts. The lower range consists only of sunken shafts (*vide* Sketch Survey, *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. ii., where the lower range is marked "mummy-pits").

Tomb No. 1. Beginning at the northern end of the upper range, the first tomb is unfinished and, in fact, barely commenced.

Tomb No. 2. (*Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., Pl. iv.) The tomb of Amenemhat is one of the largest, and in general proportions perhaps the finest in the whole group. It is composed of an open court, a portico, a main chamber, and a shrine. The open court presents no peculiarities; it is merely the result of cutting back into the cliff in order to obtain a face of rock sufficiently high for the excavation of the portico. This portico is formed by two octagonal columns supporting an architrave, above which are the remains of two dentils, the rest having disappeared. The columns have bases and abaci, the width of which is the same as that of the architrave which they support. Inside the portico the roof is arched, and has a maximum height of 276 inches. The whole is unfinished, the floor being rough; is it not possible that the columns were intended to be sixteen-sided, though the work never got beyond the octagon stage ?

The great doorway in the centre of the eastern wall of the portico has been more carefully finished. The height of 199·5 inches and the width of 72·5 inches seem to point to a cubit of 20·8 inches being used to lay it out. This would give a height of 9·5 cubits and a width of 3·5 cubits. The door itself (Pt. I., Pl. VA) opened inwards, and was made in a single leaf to the full height of the doorway. It was pivoted above in a wooden lintel-beam, the lower pivot resting on a hard heel-stone, which was let into a quadrant socket cut in the floor of the main chamber. The jambs of the door, i.e., the thickness of the wall separating the portico and the main chamber, form a kind of entrance passage. The main chamber was almost square, the average length of the side walls being 457 inches, and the greatest variation in the length of the different sides being ± 1 inch. This would make a square of 21·97 cubits (or, roughly, 22 cubits), taking the cubit with which it was set out at 20·8 inches. The southern wall appears in every way better finished than the others; the lower portions of the walls and the floor itself are rough.

The columns, of which there are four (see Pt. I., Pl. v.), are sixteen-sided, slightly fluted, the depth of the flute varying from 0·42 to 0·26 inch. Those sides, however, which directly face the east and west centre line of the

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[1] The general survey and plans of Tombs Nos. 1—14 are published in *Beni Hasan*, Pt. I., the remainder of the plans are in the present volume.

tomb have been left flat, probably to receive an inscription. The columns taper slightly from the base to the top, which is surmounted by a square abacus of the same width as the architrave. The sides average 7·78 inches at the top, 7·82 inches at the centre, and 8·23 inches at the base.

The architraves supported by these columns divide the roof into three parts, consisting of flat arches springing from the upper edges of the architraves. The greatest height from the floor to the *intrados* or summit of the arch is 264 inches or 12·5 cubits, whilst the walls average 242·4 inches or 11·5 cubits. The height from the floor to the under-side of the architraves is 212 inches.

A doorway in the centre of the eastern wall, 129 inches (6·2 cubits) high, admits to the shrine, the floor of which is raised above the level of the main chamber. The door (Pt. I., Pl. VA) had two leaves closing in the centre; the lintel was a wooden beam let in above the doorway, and quadrant sockets cut in the sill held the heel-stones.

The shrine itself, a small chamber 104 inches wide and 86·5 inches long, contained the great Ka-statue of Amenemhat, seated, with his wife standing on his right, and his mother on his left hand. The right hand of the statue of Amenemhat was found below on the hill, and has been replaced in the shrine. It is closed and grasps a yellow tie; it measures 8 inches across the knuckles, so that if we take a human hand to measure about 3·5 inches at the same place, this would indicate that the statue was almost two and a half times the natural size. To judge from this fragment, the workmanship of the statue must have been coarse and rough, but to conceal this defect it may have been highly coloured. There are two sepulchral shafts in this tomb, which are on the southern side of the main chamber, but it was not considered desirable to have them cleared.

The dimensions of this tomb will be further dealt with when comparing it with the following one.

Tomb No. 3. The tomb of Khnemhotep II. (Pt. I., Pl. xxii.), though smaller than that of Amenemhat and possibly not so well proportioned, is of much superior work.

To begin with the portico (which is preceded by an open court, as in the tomb of Amenemhat), the dentils above the architrave are almost complete, and the two sixteen-sided columns are finished. The average width of the sides is 5·5 inches at the top and 6·3 at the bottom. Inside the portico we again find an arched roof, the height to the *intrados* measuring 212·7 inches.

The great doorway has an average height of 142·75 inches and a width of 56·5 inches, which gives as nearly as possible 7 cubits of 20·6 inches for the height, and 2·74 cubits for the width. The wall separating the portico and main chamber has a thickness of 40·03 inches or 1·94 cubit.

The doorway itself was closed by a wooden door pivoted above in a timber lintel let into the wall, and below, resting on a pivot block let into a quadrant socket. The jambs of the doorway proper are not parallel, the stone having been more cut away on the south side, so that the passage widens inwards; this would give the idea of a door of considerable thickness and fitting well.

From an example found in the small tomb No. 34, the heel-stone of the great doors appears to have been a roughly shaped hard stone, such as dolerite, with a shallow depression on the upper surface for the door-post to work in.

The main chamber in the tomb of Khnemhotep is not quite square, the length averaging 377·26 inches, while the breadth averages 382·06 inches, showing a difference of 4·8 inches. The breadth seems to be intended for 18·5 cubits, whilst the length may have been set out with a cubit rather worn, about ·26 of an inch too short.

The roof is arranged in three flat arches, with a height of 232·8 inches or 11·2 cubits from the *intrados* to the floor. The columns were sixteen-sided, but without fluting; they have all been cut clean away, even the bases having gone. The height from the floor to the under-side of the architraves averages 192·95 inches or 9·3 cubits, so that the columns themselves must have been about 9 cubits high.

In this tomb the floor of the shrine is on the same level as that of the main chamber, but there is a raised threshold in the doorway. The shrine doorway has an average height of 109·22 inches or about 5·3 cubits, and a width of 43·7 inches or 2·1 cubits. The interior of the shrine is far better finished than that in the tomb of Amenemhat. It measures 121·36 inches in length and 91·52 inches in breadth, with an average height of 114·9 inches, giving respective cubit measures of 5·8, 4·4, and 5·5 cubits. It contained a large seated figure of Khnemhotep; a portion of the face of which was found lying, like the hand of Amenemhat, on the hill side; but the figure is too mutilated to admit of any exact

estimate of its original size, and the fragments obtained from the clearing of the well, though they show that it was painted a brilliant red, do not help us any further. This was the only statue in the shrine, the other figures being merely incised and painted on the walls.

The door was made in two leaves; a beam about 5 inches square formed the lintel, and there was the usual arrangement of quadrant sockets to take the lower ends of the door-posts.

The architectural work of this tomb is better than any other in the whole range. The walls are cut in a good stratum free from boulders, and the floors of the main chamber and shrine are carefully worked flat; this seems to show that the tomb was really finished, which is rarely the case with any of the others.

Of tomb-shafts there are four, two on the southern wall finished, one only marked out on the floor, and one in front of the shrine doorway cut to a maximum depth of 26 inches; this latter may perhaps be of a later date than the tomb, as it is roughly cut, and is not set out square with any wall of the tomb.

When the central shaft on the south side of the tomb was cleared (see Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Figs. 1—3), it was found that it descended vertically for 260 inches, and that the floor was then roughly stepped down to the chamber some 110 inches lower. The chamber or vault itself consisted of a central passage, about 3 feet wide and 8 feet high, with excavations along the sides forming aisles, the roofs of which were some 60 inches lower than the roof of the central passage. The chamber measured 115 inches in length and 108 inches in breadth, and at the southern end was a further chamber or passage, 80 inches long, 40 inches wide, and 50 inches high, the floor of which sloped slightly downwards. The whole of the lower portion was unfinished, but the scheme in this and other similar vaults at Beni Hasan seems to have been, a central passage between two aisles or receptacles for the great wooden sarcophagi. I am inclined to think that the further passage contained the foundation deposit of the tomb placed in a small well in the floor. The sarcophagus of the original owner of the tomb possibly stood in this passage, while those of his sons or descendants were placed in the aisles of the outer chamber, the central passage remaining clear.

As might be expected from their position, these tombs have in most cases been completely plundered. The Coptic and late Roman pottery found in the wells, and in this case even in the chamber, affords evidence that at the time of Coptic residence in this tomb the shafts were almost empty, and probably the top of the entrance to the vault was visible.

There is, however, no evidence that they were ever re-used for burials in the later dynasties. The only pottery found, which cannot certainly be attributed to late Roman times, is distinctly of the materials and forms of the XIIth Dynasty, so far as we know them, and the remains of the earlier burials have never been removed.[1] We found numerous fragments of the sarcophagi, which were made of wood 2·0 inches thick, and painted in panel patterns, the colours used being blue, red, black, and yellow: also a very roughly made table of offerings painted red (see Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Fig. 4), and the apex of a small obelisk in limestone, which probably was one of a pair standing on either side of the table of offerings.

The shaft itself has the unusual feature of a chamber cut in the eastern side of it, 44 inches wide and 47 inches high, extending the full length of the side of the shaft; the object of this chamber is not clear. The shaft was carefully closed at a depth of 48 inches by means of stone beams let into grooves cut in the eastern and western walls; the grooves did not extend the whole length of the sides, the opening thus left at one end being probably closed by a loose slab (see Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Fig. 2). Clean chips laid on these beams probably formed a bed for the great slab which closed the whole mouth of the well at floor level. A tomb-shaft which I cleared at El-Lahûn in 1889 showed a similar arrangement, the beams being there still in position.

About one-sixth part of one of the interior columns was found in the large well; it weighed about a ton and a quarter, and gave Mr. Blackden and myself considerable trouble to raise it the 28 feet to the floor. It is valuable as it enables us to restore these columns, the form of which was quite unknown. It was painted like the dado in imitation of granite (Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Fig. 5).

Before proceeding to describe the other tombs, it is desirable to give some account of the method of excavating employed by the makers of the tombs, and to compare the accuracy of the work in the two great tombs just described.

The method of excavating would appear to have been

[1] See below, p. 79, for a description of the antiquities found here.

somewhat as follows: they first drove an open heading in the slope of the hill, until the vertical face was high enough to leave a certain thickness of solid rock above the *intrados* of the roof arches. Occasionally, as in Tomb No. 29, a sufficient thickness was not provided, with the result that the roof has in part fallen in. To judge by the shape of the cuts and the traces of copper, the excavations were made with bronze chisels. In the wall of Tomb No. 4 (Khnemhotep IV.) we find in a face of 42 inches 10 chisel marks, each of 1·6 inch wide; and in another place 9 chisel cuts, each of 1·7 inch, in 40 inches of face. In this instance the marking showed that the roof had been formed by chisel cuts 0·4 inch wide.

It is difficult to say where the stone chisels [1] (chipped off from the hard and compact boulder stones here so common) were used. Great numbers of them are found at Beni Hasan, El-Bersheh, the alabaster quarries behind Tell Beni Amarān (Tell el-Amarna), and at Asyût, and they are probably to be found wherever these boulders occur. They may have been used to partly dress the surfaces which had been roughly hewn out with bronze chisels or adzes.

To return to the excavation. The necessary face having been obtained, the pillars were rough hewn and the door cut through; after which one gang would probably work outside, while others, in the first instance, faced the interior western wall, working from the roof downwards, and afterwards completed the remainder of the chamber. To judge by the unfinished Tomb No. 5, the stone was taken out in blocks, the workmen proceeding from the roof downwards over the surface of the floor. In this case the blocks average about 60 inches by 20 inches in length and breadth, and 22 inches in depth. In one block, of a mean depth of 14 inches and a length of 51 inches, there are 31 chisel-holes along the back, running horizontally, and made with an edge of 0·4 inch, with the object of prising up the stone from its bed.

The jambs of the door have been left rough below to prevent damage to them by the passage of the blocks which had been cut out and the traffic of the workmen.

[1] Large rough chisel- and adze-shaped implements of hard limestone, very coarsely flaked, the cutting edge more carefully formed by bruising. They are roughly oval in section, about 3 inches × 2½ in diameter, and 10 inches long. One is 11 inches in length, some are smaller, and a well-shaped specimen, circular in section, is about 2½ inches in diameter and 8 inches long. It has been bruised all over into a neat chisel form.

In preparing and cutting the columns with sixteen sides the following method appears to have been adopted:—

1st. To hew out a rough square pillar.

2nd. To cut off its corners, thus forming an octagon.

3rd. To cut off the corners of the octagon, thus getting sixteen sides, the planes of which were sometimes afterwards fluted.

An example of this occurs in Tomb No. 4 (Pt. I., Pl. xl., Fig. 1), where an unfinished column still shows the setting out of the octagon near the base. When the columns were fluted, as in Tomb No. 2, this was probably done with a crescent-shaped grinder of hard stone.

The fluting varied in depth and was comparatively shallow: thus, in the example (Pt. I., Pl. v., Fig. 2) from the tomb of Amenemhat, the depth of fluting at the top is 0·427 inch, while that of the corresponding column is only 0·261 inch.

As to the accuracy with which these columns were formed, the off-sets given in Pt. I., Pl. v., Fig. 2, show that apart from the mean diminution or taper from the bottom to the top, which averages about 1 inch in 122 inches on a flat surface, there are errors of workmanship which diverge considerably from that average. Thus, instead of diminishing from the off-sets 60 inches to 50 inches, there is an increase of 0·2 inch instead of a decrease as there should be (see Table I.).

We have next to consider the degree of accuracy shown in forming the main chambers.

In Tomb No. 3, the measurements between the north and south walls are at floor level.

West end	... ...	382·4 inches
Centre ...	... ...	383·08 „
East end	... ...	381·80 „

in a length from west to east of 377·6 inches, showing a contraction at the rate of 1 inch in 147 inches from the centre to the east.

Again, the distance in plan between the north wall of the same tomb and the southern edge of the adjacent architrave is—

At west end	... ...	136·3 inches
Centre ...	... ...	135·5 „
East end	... ...	135·5 „

the work in this instance, as in others, showing a tendency to correct itself as it progressed.

We next come to questions of the workmanship in producing the plane surfaces in the walls.

With this object very numerous and accurate plumb-

bob measurements were made. These are illustrated by record-tables, of which Tables I. to IV. are examples, and by diagrams, as in Pt. I., Pl. v., Fig. 3, Pl. xxiii., Figs. 6 and 7, where the off-set measurements are on a scale ten times that of the longitudinal or vertical dimensions.

The diagram, Pl. xxiii., Fig. 6, with Table IV., illustrates the straightness of the north and south walls in the tomb of Khnemhotep II., at about 3 feet 6 inches above floor level. The north wall, it will be seen, diverges more from the straight line (joining it sometimes) than the south wall, the maximum divergence being 0·4 inch in the north and 0·3 inch in the south wall.

The verticality of these north and south walls in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnemhotep II. is illustrated by diagrams (Pl. v., Fig. 3, and Pl. xxiii., Fig. 7) and Tables II. and III. These show the superior finish and accuracy of work in the latter tomb, where also the rock lent itself much more favourably to the work.

In the case of Tomb No. 3, only the western measurements are reduced to 0 in the diagram, while for Tomb No. 2 all are so reduced.

From the tables and diagrams of Tomb No. 3 it will be seen that the greatest divergence at the west, centre, and east ends of the north walls are respectively 0·45 inch, 0·3 inch, and 0·2 inch, the maximum divergence throughout being 0·45 inch. In the south wall the greatest divergences at the west, centre, and east ends are more considerable, viz., 1·25 inch, 0·17 inch, and 0·2 inch, and the maximum divergence is 1·25 inch. On the whole, the divergence from the straight decreases from the west, where the work began, to the east.

In the case of the north and south walls of Tomb No. 2 (Amenemhat, Pl. v., Fig. 3, and Table II.), the greatest divergences at the west, centre, and east of the north wall are 2·9 inches, 0·9 inch, and 2·45 inches, the maximum divergence being 2·45 inches from 0. In the south wall, the divergence from west, centre, and east are 1·95 inch, 0·65 inch, and 4·68 inches, the last being the maximum divergence of the wall throughout. This considerable divergence is, however, chiefly due to the want of finish in the lower 30 inches of the wall.

On the whole, in both tombs there is a tendency to greater divergence from the floor upwards, but the curves do not appear to show any fixity of purpose in these deviations from the perpendicular.

In Tomb No. 6 we find an example of how the work was set out.

At each of three corners of the chamber there is a rectangular draft cut horizontally in the still unfinished surface of the wall to the depth of about 1 inch, and a similar draft at about 3 feet from the floor is carried round upon the vertical face of an exterior side, then at right angles along the vertical face of the entrance wall, and again at right angles along the jamb of the door, so as to fix the exact width of this latter.

Tomb No. 4. (See Pl. xl.) The tomb of Khnemhotep IV., son of Khnemhotep II., is quite unfinished. In style, it is the same as that of his father's, but it is on a smaller scale. One of the columns supporting the front architrave of the portico has been cut away; the other, already mentioned, shows us how the sixteen-sided columns were worked up from the octagon stage.

A curious hole cut into the wall, just south of the doorway, probably marks the place where a flaw occurred in the stone, the recess being made to take a fresh piece of sound stone.

Inside, we find the western wall begun and partly smoothed, the rest being still in the rough. Wedge-marks appear distinctly on one portion of the eastern wall, showing how the block was separated from the wall. There were six wedges in a length of 40 inches to split off a block 40 inches by 20 inches, and perhaps 12 inches thick; the wedges were about 2 inches wide, whether of bronze or wood is uncertain, but the latter material is the more probable, as when wetted it would swell and burst off the block.

Tomb No. 5. The method of cutting out a tomb is still better shown in the next tomb, No. 5, which is unfinished and without a name.

The columns are only roughed out, with sixteen sides. Inside, the blocks remain standing all over the floor *in situ*, having been cut but not split off from their bases; they are generally some 60 inches long, 18 inches wide, and 22 inches high.

The cutting edge of the XIIth Dynasty tools here measured 0·5 inch, but the persons who later on destroyed the architrave used a chisel of 0·4 inch, and made a cut 4·5 inches deep to separate the stone, which had a base of 22 inches in width.

The next tomb which calls for remark is No. 9.

Tomb No. 9. No trace of the original painting remains, but the tomb has been carefully finished, and consists

of the outer court (in this case 122 inches by 133 inches, this space being almost entirely occupied by a tomb-shaft), and the main chamber measuring 108·5 inches by 103·9 inches, with a slightly arched roof and a small shrine in the eastern wall above the floor level. The shrine measures 47·3 inches by 51·9 inches high, and contained a small figure, now destroyed.

From No. 9 to No. 13 we have tombs all more or less unfinished.

Tomb No. 13. (See Part I., Pl. xli.) This tomb is similar to No. 9, but lacks the shrine and the well in the outer court. On the front are inscribed the titles and prayers of a royal scribe, Khnemhotep.

The chamber contained a small well, almost empty when we arrived. This we cleared, and the sarcophagus chamber was used as a photographic dark room until we were driven out by bats.

This tomb brings us to the end of the Northern Group. The return in the hill here forms to some degree a boundary line between the earlier and later tombs.

Tomb No. 14. The first of the tombs in what may be called the Southern Group is that of Khnemhotep I. (Pt. I., Pl. xliii.). It is small and of poor workmanship, due perhaps to the fact that in the reign of Amenemhat I., after its stormy commencement, the nobles had not yet reached that degree of wealth and power of which we detect the evidence in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnemhotep II. Here we have no large outer court and no portico; the plan being limited to a single chamber measuring 325 inches by 348 inches.

An architrave running north and south, formerly supported by lotus-bud columns, which are now entirely destroyed, divided the chamber in the proportion of one-third to the east of the architrave and two-thirds to the west (see Part I., Pl. xliii.).

The general workmanship is poor, and owing to a mistake in setting out their work, the masons, in order to avoid making the north wall (which is separated from the next tomb going north by a small gully) too thin, were obliged to leave an unsightly buttress in the north-west corner of the chamber.

Tomb No. 15. The next tomb to the south is that of Baqt III. Here we have an outside court, in the northern side of which are the remains of an ashlar wall, separating it from the tomb of Khnemhotep I. (see Pl. ii. in this volume). After passing through a doorway 182·5 inches high, the main chamber—the largest at Beni Hasan—is reached; it measures 657 inches by 472 inches, and averages 186 inches high.

An architrave formerly supported by two lotus-bud columns, which have disappeared as usual, divides the chamber in the proportion of one-third to the east of the architrave and two-thirds to the west; and this seems to be the general proportion in all the tombs made on a plan similar to this one.

Near the eastern end of the southern wall there is a small chamber, 57·8 inches by 83·1 inches, which contains a table of offerings and a false doorway cut in the western wall.

Just outside this shrine is the mouth of a large tomb-shaft (see Pl. iii.). It was cleared after considerable labour, as it contained over forty tons of stones and boulders, some of the largest of the latter weighing as much as six cwt. The shaft descended to a depth of 957 inches or 79 feet 9 inches, at which point a doorway on the northern side gave access to a chamber 145·5 inches by 127·5 inches. From the centre of this chamber another well went down a further 240 inches or 20 feet, and at the bottom, on the southern side, a doorway led into a chamber which measures at floor level 144·4 inches by 100 inches. On each side benches 25 inches wide run the whole length of the chamber, at about 32·5 inches above the floor; on them were probably ranged the coffins and offerings. Beyond this large, roughly-finished chamber is a smaller chamber or passage, sloping down from the floor level of the southern wall. It has been carefully finished, and measures 158·5 inches by 56·5 inches, and 76·8 inches high; at the lower end is a small square hole 25·5 inches deep and 25·5 inches by 24·8 inches on plan. This, I imagine, contained a species of foundation deposit. The level of the bottom of this small shaft is 306·8 inches or 25 feet 6 inches below the bottom of the great shaft, making thus a total depth of 1263 inches or 105 feet 3 inches below the floor level of the chamber above. This is, as far as I am aware, the deepest shaft yet found and cleared in Egypt.

Returning to the surface, the great doorway calls for notice. Above the jamb, on the northern side, is a curious hole in the wall, apparently intended to take a wooden or bronze socket, which must have projected from the wall and have held the door-post, as there is no lintel. The door seems to have shut flat against the doorway, and not to have fitted it as in most of the tombs.

Tomb No. 16. The next tomb, No. 16 on the plan, is an exact counterpart of the tomb of Khnemhotep I. (No. 14). It served as our dwelling-house during the time we were at Beni Hasan.

Tomb No. 17. The tomb of Khety (No. 17 on the plan and Pl. ix.) is the second largest in the group. A plain door-way 171 inches high leads into a chamber 625·7 inches long and 457 inches wide. On the northern side of the doorway is a curious buttress projecting from the western wall, which has been partly destroyed, but was formerly 62 or 63 inches high. On its southern face are the remains of some carving, not unlike the back leg of an Egyptian chair; possibly there was a small figure here; but as the doorway has no sockets for the door-post, and it is difficult to see how it can have been closed, perhaps the buttress may have been connected with the fastening of the door, rather than be the remains of a seated figure.

Two architraves running north and south, and supported by six lotus-bud columns, of which the northern one in the western architrave and the central one in the eastern are still intact, give this tomb a more finished appearance than that of Baqt (Tomb No. 15).

The columns were painted in alternate bands, 12·5 inches wide, of yellow and green (?) (now turned blue); the buds themselves, painted blue-green with white stripes 0·75 inch to 1·0 inch wide, were fastened with a binding alternately purple (originally red?) and blue-green, the end of the tie which appears above the binding being of a lighter blue than the bud, while that below it is red.

This large tomb contains only two mummy-pits, both on the southern side.

Tomb No. 18. The next tomb requiring notice is No. 18. Its interest lies in the plan, which will be more readily understood from Pl. xxi. than from a description.

There are ten columns in various degrees of completion. Nine of these support three long architraves running north and south; the remaining one supports a small architrave, which runs east and west, a contrivance which may well be an addition to the original plan, and intended to hide the unsightliness of the corner necessitated by the presence of a small tomb of apparently earlier date immediately to the south of the one we are treating of.

The greatest length of the chamber is 702 inches and the greatest width 453 inches. It is entirely rough, just as the workmen left it, excepting that several of the columns have since then been destroyed. From those that remain we see that the method employed in shaping the lotus-bud columns was, first, to rough out a pillar of square or diamond-shaped section: in the centre of the sides of this V-shaped cuts were then made, and gradually enlarged until the proper depth between the stems was reached; the four stems were then shaped by narrow vertical cuts until the form was sufficiently round to allow of the remaining irregularities and corners being faced down with finishing tools.

Though far from finished, this tomb contains five burial-pits, none of which have been cleared.

Tomb No. 21. The tomb of Nekhta, No. 21 on the plan, and Pl. xxii., is exactly similar to that of Khnemhotep I. It measures 368 inches by 330 inches, but is unfinished. The work, so far as it has gone, is better than that of most of the tombs in this group, and it has the advantage of being executed in an excellent piece of rock, the stratum in which the tombs are cut apparently varying in quality. As will be seen from the section, the roof slopes away on each side from the centre, in consequence of which the architrave has a less flat appearance. Every trace of the columns has gone, but they were probably of the lotus-bud type.

The chamber contains two shafts on the south side, and there is another just outside the door. The larger of the interior shafts is peculiar, as the walls of rock have been left standing 16 inches above floor level, thus forming a parapet round the mouth of the shaft.

On the north side of the doorway there is a rough buttress similar to that in the tomb of Khety, but as the door is still quite rough it is difficult to express any opinion as to its use.

Tomb No. 22. This tomb is unfinished, but has two false doors; it does not call for particular notice.

Tomb No. 23. The tomb of Neternekht, Pl. xxiii. Again we have an unfinished tomb, the chamber being 354 inches by 327 inches: the architrave shows scarcely a trace of the columns, and the floor none at all.

The floor has been much cut over as a quarry in later times, and the graffiti show that during the Coptic period the chamber was used as a school-room.

The roof, on the eastern side of the architrave, has been painted in patterns, with a band of inscription down the centre from north to south.

The painted eastern wall seems to show clearly that the painting of the tomb went on side by side with the excavation.

Tomb No. 24. Outside this tomb, but now joined to it by the partition wall having been cut away, there is a small, uninscribed tomb (No. 24), in the shaft of which was found an undisturbed burial of the XIth or XIIth Dynasty.

This small tomb has an arched roof, but is otherwise not remarkable.

Tomb No. 27. The next noteworthy tomb (that of Remushenta, Pl. xxvi.) was simply a plain chamber, measuring 355 inches by 356·5 inches. It never had either architrave or columns, but seems to have been carefully finished; the average height of the roof above floor level is 134 inches. On the southern half of the western wall is a false doorway, which was left unfinished. The chamber contained six burial shafts.

Tomb No. 29. This tomb, that of Baqt I., is remarkable chiefly for its size (see Pl. xxvii.). Here the masons have got too high in the stratum, the result being that they have had to leave the roof full of boulders, in a very rough state; moreover, they did not allow enough thickness in the roof, so that parts have fallen in, and the rest is cracked and liable to come down in a few years' time, unless it is built up with piers or in some other way supported. The chamber measures 435 inches by 400 inches. Again we have neither architrave nor columns; the average height of the roof above floor level being 150 inches. On the outside the door has been so much cut away that its real height cannot be determined.

The Coptic inhabitants of this tomb cut doorways through the northern and southern walls into the adjoining tombs.

Tomb No. 32. This tomb (Pl. xxxiii.), unfortunately without a name, brings us to an entirely different style of architecture, for here we go back to the outside portico, with an arched roof, and an architrave supported by two octagonal columns, similar to Amenemhat's tomb in the Northern Group.

A doorway 144 inches high gives entrance into a chamber 333 inches by 228 inches. On referring to the Plate it will be seen that the floor level is 19 inches above the door-sill, and that there is a great sloping shaft occupying the entire breadth of the doorway. This leads one to suppose that there were probably steps placed at the entrance to reach the level of the floor, and these would mask the opening to the tomb shaft.

Inside we find the roof made in three arches, divided by two architraves running east and west, and formerly supported by two columns, of which the sole remains are the bases; the height to the under side of the architraves from floor level is, on an average, 160 inches, and to the *intrados* of the side arches 191·5 inches.

On the eastern wall we have another peculiarity: a shrine doorway, standing above a species of pedestal 39·8 inches high, leads into a small shrine measuring 102·3 inches by 89·7 inches, on the eastern wall of which are the remains of a small sculptured figure. The doorway is 81·8 inches high; there are no steps up to this shrine, which was closed, as usual, with a wooden door.

Besides the shaft in the doorway, there is a second sloping shaft inside in the south-west corner, descending 366 inches, or 30·5 feet, at a slope of 1 to 1½, and ending in a very small unfinished chamber.

Tomb No. 33. Next to Tomb No. 32, and joined to it by a doorway cut through the dividing wall by the Copts, is the tomb of Baqt II., No. 33 in the Sketch Survey, and Pl. xxxiv. It consists of a very plain chamber, measuring 405·4 inches by 403·3 inches, entered by a doorway 101·4 inches high and 43·3 inches wide, which is too small to light it properly. The doorway has a peculiarity in the socket, the door-post being on the south or right-hand side of the door; this is, I think, the only case at Beni Hasan in which a door appears to have opened to the right. The roof has an average height of 133·2 inches at the four corners, but rises to 138·7 in the centre of the east wall. There were no columns or architrave.

Along the eastern wall are three tomb-shafts, the southernmost of which is the largest example of the square type of shafts here; it measures 62·5 inches by 62·7 inches, and was probably intended to be 3 cubits square, the cubit in this case being 20·7 inches.

The six remaining tombs do not seem to merit particular notice. They were measured, and their plans will be seen in Pl. xxxvii. of the present volume.

II. ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS.

As much time and care was spent in clearing the tombs and some of the mummy-pits, it may be well to give a short account of the results.

Tomb No. 3. As already mentioned, the clearing of a shaft in the tomb of Khnemhotep II. yielded part of one of the columns and a rough table of offerings. We found also in pottery one small red clay pot, of the shape of the alabaster kohl-pots so common in the XIIth Dynasty tombs at El-Lahûn and Saḳḳârah; half of a large circular clay stand for the pointed vases of the period; two flat-bottomed dishes and one round-bottomed dish, of red clay, rouge-faced; and also one or two unbroken and several broken offering-saucers, in rough brown-red clay, similar to those found at Meidûm. Besides these, we discovered a solid baked clay lid of a canopic jar with human head. This differs slightly from similar lids found in the Theban necropolis, which are often hollow. These latter seem to date as early as the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as I found one in the tomb-well of a man named Amenemhat (his mother's name being Antef); in the chamber above there was an inscription dated 28th year of Thothmes III., painted over an older inscription.

Besides the pottery, the tomb gave us the ends of a necklace, one perfect, the other broken, made of blue glazed pottery, showing holes along the edge for six threads; a few beads and a pendant bead in similar material probably belonged to this or similar necklaces.[1]

Three skulls were found and photographed, one being remarkable for the general massive appearance and firm square jaw. This skull bore traces of mummy cloth, and may reasonably be supposed to have been that of Khnemhotep himself. Acting on this belief, I carefully re-buried it, after building up the door of the tomb chamber with a stone wall.

In the small unfinished well in front of the shrine there was a clay bottle of Coptic date. It was closed with a leaden plug, but contained only clean sand.

Tomb No. 7. This tomb had a single shaft, which when cleared was found to contain a large box coffin, unfortunately rifled. The wood showed only traces of a blue inscription. Two very small wooden figures 2·5 inches high, seated, with heavy black wigs, were found in it. They resemble the figures found on model boats of this age at Aswân. Besides these, a wooden paddle,[2] with the handle broken, was found and brought to England.

The dimensions of the coffin, 53·2 inches long, 20·4 inches wide, and 11·5 inches deep, point to a body not more than 4 feet 2 inches in length. The material was a fibrous wood 1·8 to 2 inches thick.

Tomb No. 8. Tomb No. 8 contained two shafts by the southern wall. The western one is 204 inches deep; the burial chamber (on the south side of the shaft as usual) measures 98·5 inches long, 37·25 inches wide, and about 38·5 inches high. The burial had been rifled, but many of the offering jars remained; they were carefully photographed, and consisted of small, rough, red jars whitewashed, and sealed with a lump of clay, exactly as the honey *ballâs* are sealed at the present day. It is worthy of notice that the jar which seems to have been used for pouring libations, and which has places for the fingers at the bottom to enable it to be easily emptied, is here still pointed at the bottom, as in the early dynasties, and has not yet reached the flat-bottomed form, which is found in the constructions of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty behind the Ramesseum at El-Ḳurneh. Fragments of several of these jars were found.

The tomb also contained a rough slab of alabaster, on which had been cemented eight upright pieces, two of which were recovered. They seem to be for some game, but it is neither the well-known 3 by 10 game nor that mentioned by Mr. Flinders Petrie (*Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, page 30).

Some five or six small coarsely-cut wooden figures, with heavy black wigs, red bodies, and white waist-cloths, and a pair of white-painted wooden sandals (one of which was too much damaged to remove), complete the list of objects found in this shaft.

The chamber had been closed by slabs of stone 46 by 16 by 8·5 inches. The coffin was too much destroyed to afford any dimensions. The eastern shaft, 132 inches deep, the chamber to the south being 94 inches long, 35 inches wide and 41·5 inches high, contained similar

[1] Two hawk's-heads of blue glazed ware, with details painted black, from the ends of two different *usekh* collars. One of the beads is large and globular, of coarse blue glazed ware.

[2] Blade 9 inches, handle (imperfect?) 18 inches, broken across.

pottery and an unbroken box, the outside dimensions of which were 24·5 by 15 inches and 14·2 inches deep. The lid had battens pegged inside, and the box was fastened by means of a small knob in the side, corresponding to a hooked peg on the lid (the same method of fastening appears frequently in the wall-paintings of Tomb No. 2 and others); the side pieces were morticed and overlapped at the top. It was painted white inside, with a thin plaster coat outside painted red. Inside was the body of a baby. Below it lay a disturbed coffin, measuring 73·9 inches long, 17·7 inches wide, and 10·5 inches deep, the wood 0·8 inches thick. This coffin would contain a body 5 feet 6 inches or 5 feet 8 inches long.

Tomb No. 9. Outside this tomb is a shaft occupying almost the entire frontage space. This was carefully cleared, and yielded two large red jars and two smaller ones, a saucer and cup, and a broken offering-stand in light red pottery white-faced. The shapes were distinctly of the XIIth Dynasty, and the material of the saucer and cup was the same as that of the saucers and cups which were so plentiful at Kahun. The shapes can be seen in Mr. Flinders Petrie's book (*Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, Pl. xii., Nos. 22, 27, 33; Pl. xiii., 62, 94). A small limestone eye for inlaying was also found. The coffins had been destroyed, and only small fragments of them were found.

Tomb No. 15. The tomb of Baqt III., with the great shaft, gave us unfortunately next to nothing, so completely had it been rifled. One of the small wells contained the remains of the burnt coffin, from which I secured one fair-sized fragment with a hieratic inscription on it, presumably from the Book of the Dead.

The great well gave us a few unbroken jars, of the pointed-bottom form with finger places, and many fragments of the short-necked wide-mouthed vessels which seem to belong generally to the XIIth Dynasty.

One small kohl-pot in black clay was found, similar to the red clay one from Tomb No. 3.

The wooden objects had entirely decayed, owing, no doubt, to the fact that the chamber has been, on one occasion at least, full of water. Several arms and pieces of the small rough figures cut in wood, before mentioned, were lying on the benches in the tomb chamber, but the slightest touch turned them to powder.

In the upper chamber, at the bottom of the great shaft, we found a small cartouche-shaped saucer, in syenite (?), and a small kohl-pot in a material resembling marble more than alabaster. From the shaft itself we recovered a portion of a rough table of offerings, in limestone, painted red.

Tomb No. 22. In this unfinished tomb there is a small shaft at the south-east corner, which contained some of the ordinary jars and two saucers in very good red-glazed ware, similar to the Ḳeneh clay which is extensively used for making ornamental vases and pipes in the present day. One of these saucers had a foot to it, which is a distinct advance on the ordinary flat-bottomed pattern.

This burial also yielded the greater part of the blade of a battle-axe in bronze.[1] It appears to have been 15 inches long, and from 1·8 to 0·9 inches broad; it had been attached to a handle by nine rivets, three at each end and three in the centre, and the back of the blade was beaten up and made to form a stiff ridge between the centre and the end. This arrangement added greatly to its strength, but the blade seems too narrow and the whole too light for it to be a very deadly weapon. The skull found was that of a young man, probably he had been a soldier.

Tomb No. 24. As before mentioned, this tomb proved to have an undisturbed burial; the door of the burial chamber was built up with stones and mud bricks, the latter measuring 13·5 by 6·5 by 2 inches.

Unfortunately, the zeal of the workmen caused them to get inside before telling me. However, I saw the body lying, with head to north, in a plain wooden coffin, on the lid and round the sides of which was an inscription in blue paint; a space had been left for the name, which had been put in so roughly and in such bad colour that I was unable to read it. The dimensions of this coffin were length 74·1 inches, width about 20 inches, depth 6·7 inches, and thickness of wood 0·8 inch.

Thirteen stands for jars were found, but the jars themselves were broken; it is possible that there was not room for them in the small tomb chamber, and so they were left in the shaft, where they would be broken by the falling of chips thrown in.

Tomb No. 28. In a shaft outside a disturbed burial gave us some jars which look rather later than the

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[1] Weapons of the same type are seen in Pls. xiv. and xvi. of the first part of this memoir.

XIIth Dynasty, and perhaps belong to the unsettled time which succeeded it.

Three fragments of a stela were found in this shaft; it had been a good piece of stone carefully inscribed. They were, however, at the request of the Ghizeh Museum, handed over to the native inspector, together with the jars.

Tomb No. 32. From the sloping shaft of Tomb No. 32 a fragment of a Greek inscription was recovered, which appears to bear the name of one of the Ptolemies. This also was handed over to the museum authorities (*vide* p. 68).

Tomb in Lower Range. From the appearance of the ground, I was led to imagine that one of the shafts in the lower range of tombs at the southern end was still intact. This proved to be the case, and hence we are able to show what a burial of the middle class kind was like during the XIIth Dynasty.

The shaft itself was only some 15 feet deep; the entrance to the burial chamber being, as usual, to the south. The doorway had been built up carefully with stones from below, and, apparently, a single row of bricks above the stone wall; but the top was closed by two large boulders, weighing some 4 cwts. each, which appear to have been merely dropped into position. They did not, of course, fit the door exactly, and crushed and upset the bricks; and through the interstices sand was washed into the tomb by rains, until the weight of it burst in the lid of the coffin and it half-filled the tomb.

The coffin was found in place, but filled with sand; it measured 69 inches long, 15 inches wide, and 15 deep, and had originally been covered with a thin yellow stucco or paint, on which there had been a blue inscription; but of this, unfortunately, only minute traces remained. At the northern end, on the lid of the coffin, were two wooden bars or stands, having places in each for three figures, the remains of which, more or less destroyed, were found inside the coffin; these figures were represented standing, apparently with the arms raised above the head, the body painted dark red, white waist-cloths and heavy black wigs. Three of the figures were in a slightly bent attitude, and there was a seventh figure in a bent attitude, coloured yellow instead of red, very much decayed. In the coffin were found a small wooden bird, apparently the horned owl, a wooden stand painted black and white, and pieces of the model of an ox, made with a plaster head and horns and wooden body painted with black spots on white. These objects, too, seem to have been placed outside the coffin, on the lid, and to have fallen into it.

Inside, the body was laid straight, with the head north and bent to the east; beside the head was a small rough wooden pillow, with a flat fluted stem. There were no ornaments on the body, but it had been mummified, and fragments of the cloth, of a coarse texture, remained on the skull.

Wedged between the coffin and the eastern wall were four small jars, the clay sealings of which had been omitted, and above them was a single larger jar; all five were in material and shape apparently of the XIIth Dynasty.

This was evidently not the burial of a rich person, but it appears from the other tombs that the nobles had similar objects buried with them, only in greater quantities; they also seem to have had the finer alabaster jars, cups, and kohl-pots, which are found as well as, but not instead of, the plain pottery and figures, which perhaps formed part of the burial ceremonial of everybody, from the king to the petty scribe.

Conclusions. To sum up the results of the clearance of the shafts and the evidence to be gained from those which were already open;—one point appears clear, namely, that the tomb chamber was to the south of the shaft almost without exception.

The coffins were plain boxes or sarcophagi, those of the nobles being highly painted in panel patterns, with extracts from the Book of the Dead in hieratic; the commoner ones were painted, or thinly stuccoed, yellow with blue inscriptions.

In the two burials, apparently of the XIIth Dynasty, found intact, the bodies were mummified and laid straight with the head to the north.

Further, it seems probable, but not actually certain, that it was the custom to place wooden figures, such as are described above, with the burials, and in these we may perhaps see the beginning of the funereal figures, or *ushabtiu*, afterwards so common.

TABLE I.—TOMB NO. 2.

(See Pt. I., Pl. v., Fig. 2, and p. 74 of this volume.)

OFF-SETS ON THE PLANE FACE OF A 16-SIDED COLUMN.

Height. Inches.	From Ceiling Downwards. Inches.
Ceiling.	
0	0·65
10	1·65
20	1·55
30	1·25
40	1·05
50	1·15
60	0·95
70	1·15
80	0·95
90	0·95
100	0·85
110	0·93
120	0·75
130	0·85
140	0·75
150	0·7
160	0·55
170	0·25
180	0·15
190	0·15
201	0·0

TABLE II.—TOMB No. 2.

(See Part I., Pl. v., Fig., 3, and p. 75 of this volume.)

Height.	Off-sets from vertical to the North and South Walls from ceiling downwards. Inches.					
Inches.	North Wall.			South Wall.		
	West.	Centre.	East.	West.	Centre.	East.
0	2·4	0·9	1·5	0·0	0·65	4·6
10	2·32	0·8	1·6	0·05	0·6	4·55
20	2·4	0·8	1·6	0·33	0·59	4·68
30	2·38	0·88	1·5	0·45	0·6	4·42
40	2·3	0·72	1·48	0·45	0·6	4·45
50	2·3	0·65	1·45	0·53	0·5	4·4
60	2·1	0·68	1·5	0·45	0·5	4·55
70	2·3	0·55	2·45	0·75	0·4	4·3
80	2·2	0·6	1·4	1·05	0·5	4·5
90	2·05	0·65	1·7	1·15	0·42	4·42
100	2·05	0·6	1·4	1·3	0·4	4·48
110	2·3	0·48	1·4	1·45	0·38	4·3
120	2·15	0·48	1·3	1·55	0·4	4·4
130	2·15	0·5	1·38	1·75	0·42	4·38
140	2·05	0·4	1·28	1·85	0·4	4·3
150	2·09	0·5	1·22	1·9	0·38	4·3
160	2·0	0·51	1·15	1·95	0·35	4·2
170	2·05	0·45	1·12	0·65	0·32	4·25
180	2·05	0·48	1·1	0·77	0·28	4·25
190	2·9	0·48	1·2	0·7	0·25	4·25
200	1·88	0·42	1·1	0·73	0·2	3·8
210	2·45	0·5	0·95	0·65	0·08	3·0
220	1·3	0·4	0·9	0·63	0·1	1·2
230	0·0	0·7	0·7	0·55	0·0	—
240	—	—	0·0	—	—	—
241·5	Floorunfinished	0·0	—	—	—	—
242·8	—	—	—	—	—	0·0

TABLE III.—TOMB No. 3.

(See Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Fig. 7, and p. 75 of this volume.)

Height.	Off-sets from vertical to the North and South Walls, from ceiling to floor. Inches.					
	North Wall.			South Wall.		
Inches.	West.	Centre.	East.	West.	Centre.	East.
0	0·45	0·13	0·2	1·25	0·17	0·2
20	0·3	0·19	0·2	1·0	0·15	0·1
40	0·2	0·23	0·1	1·25	0·15	0·19
60	0·3	0·19	0·0	0·7	0·15	0·12
80	0·25	0·3	0·05	0·5	0·05	0·15
100	0·2	0·1	0·1	0·45	0·13	0·13
120	0·2	0·1	0·0	0·29	0·15	0·0
140	0·1	0·05	0·1	0·0	0·05	0·0
160	0·1	0·0	0·0	0·2	0·07	0·08
180	0·0	0·1	0·0	0·15	0·0	0·05
200	0·15	0·0	0·05	0·05	0·10	0·09
213·5	0·05	—	—	—	—	—
217·5	—	0·1	—	—	—	—
218·5	—	—	0·2	—	—	0·1
220	0·02	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE IV.—Tomb No. 3.

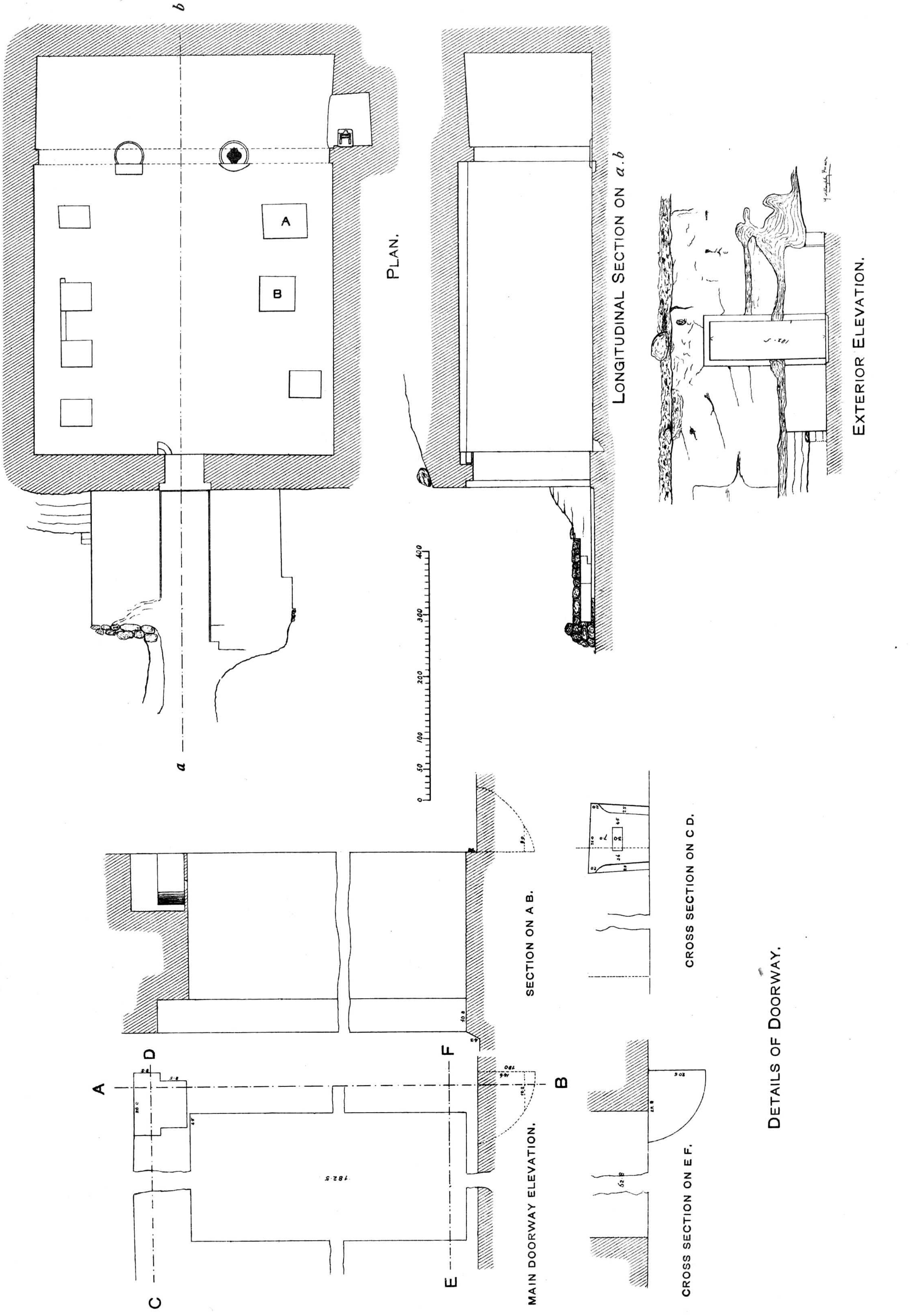
(See Pt. I., Pl. xxiii., Fig. 6, and p. 75 of this volume.)

Length.	Off-sets from Horizontal Line to the North and South Walls from East to West. Inches.		Length.	Off-sets from Horizontal Line to the North and South Walls from East to West. Inches.	
Inches.	North Wall.	South Wall.	Inches.	North Wall.	South Wall.
0	0·39	0·69	200	0·11	0·19
10	0·11	0·90	210	0·21	0·10
20	0·09	0·60	220	0·29	0·12
30	0·0	0·54	230	0·31	0·15
40	0·01	0·53	240	0·31	0·0
50	0·09	0·58	250	0·30	0·02
60	0·11	0·59	260	0·39	0·12
70	0·12	0·65	270	0·43	0·20
80	0·21	0·60	280	0·43	0·13
90	0·30	0·50	290	0·43	0·12
100	0·31	0·48	300	0·40	0·18
110	0·11	0·45	310	0·51	0·02
120	0·10	0·50	320	0·53	0·08
130	0·05	0·39	330	0·41	—
140	0·09	0·40	340	0·49	0·08
150	0·10	0·30	350	0·61	0·11
160	0·11	0·38	360	0·69	0·08
170	0·11	0·30	370	—	0·03
180	0·11	0·40	377·6	0·61	0·13
190	0·31	0·32			

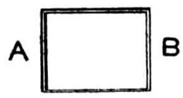
LIST OF PLATES

(WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES ON WHICH THEY ARE DESCRIBED).

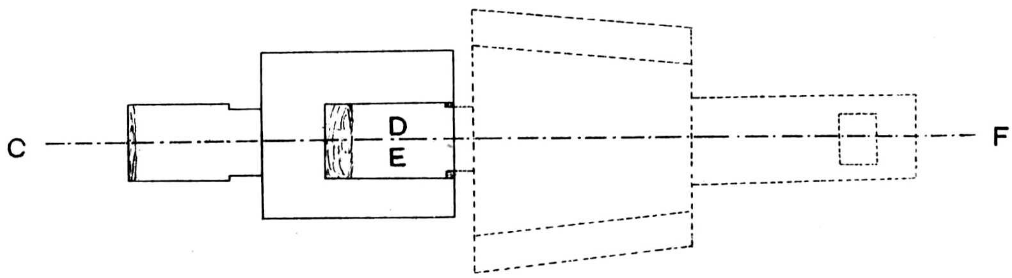
N.B.—Plates IV.-VII., XI.-XVII., XXII*a*., XXIV., XXVIII.-XXXII., XXXV., XXXVI. are $\frac{1}{20}$ actual size.


PLAN.
A
B
a
b
LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON a.b
EXTERIOR ELEVATION.
SECTION ON A B.
CROSS SECTION ON C D.
MAIN DOORWAY ELEVATION.
CROSS SECTION ON E F.
DETAILS OF DOORWAY.
A
B
C
D
E
F

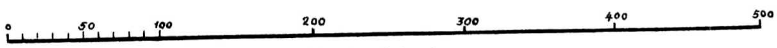
PLANS AND SECTION OF MUMMY-PIT A.



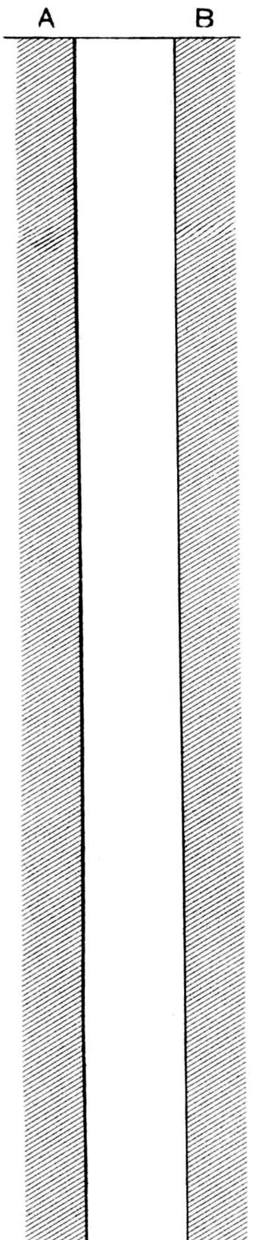
PLAN AT A.B.

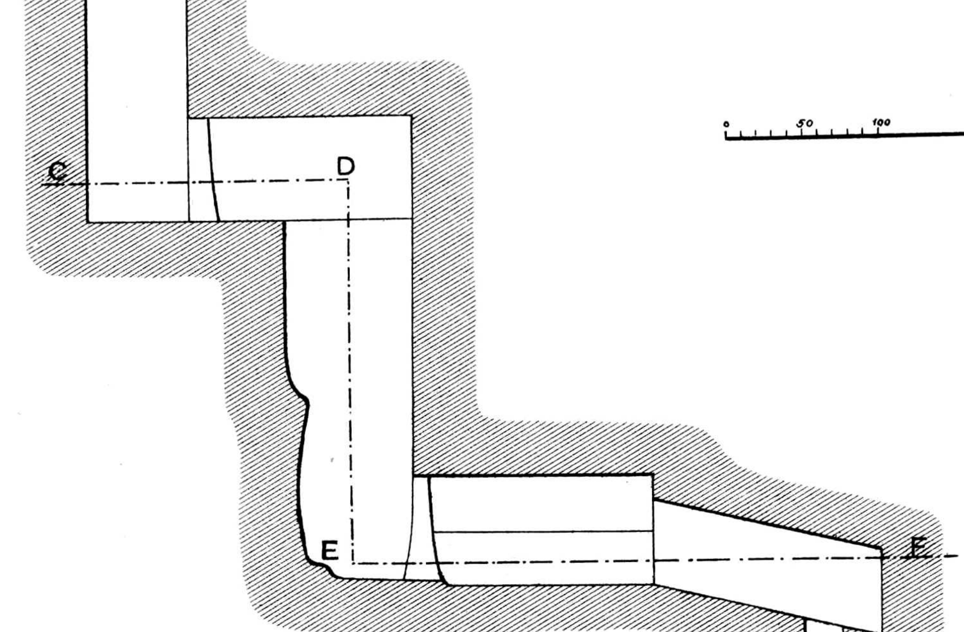


PLAN AT C.D.E.F.

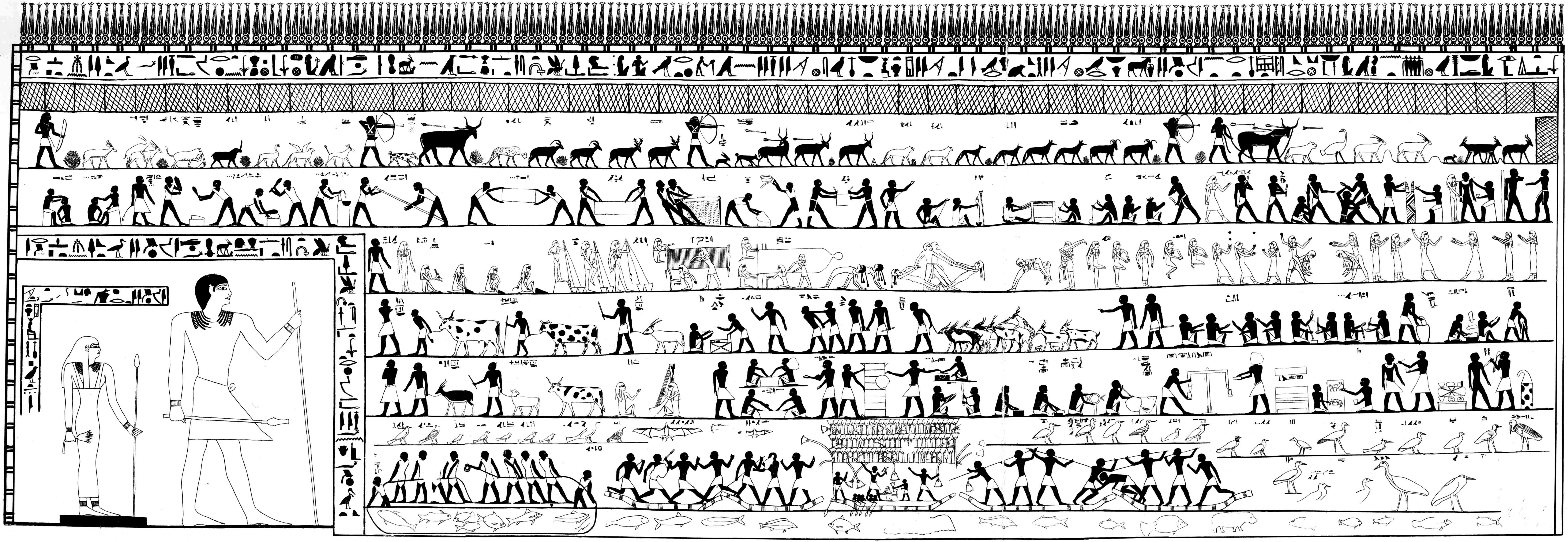


Scale of inches.

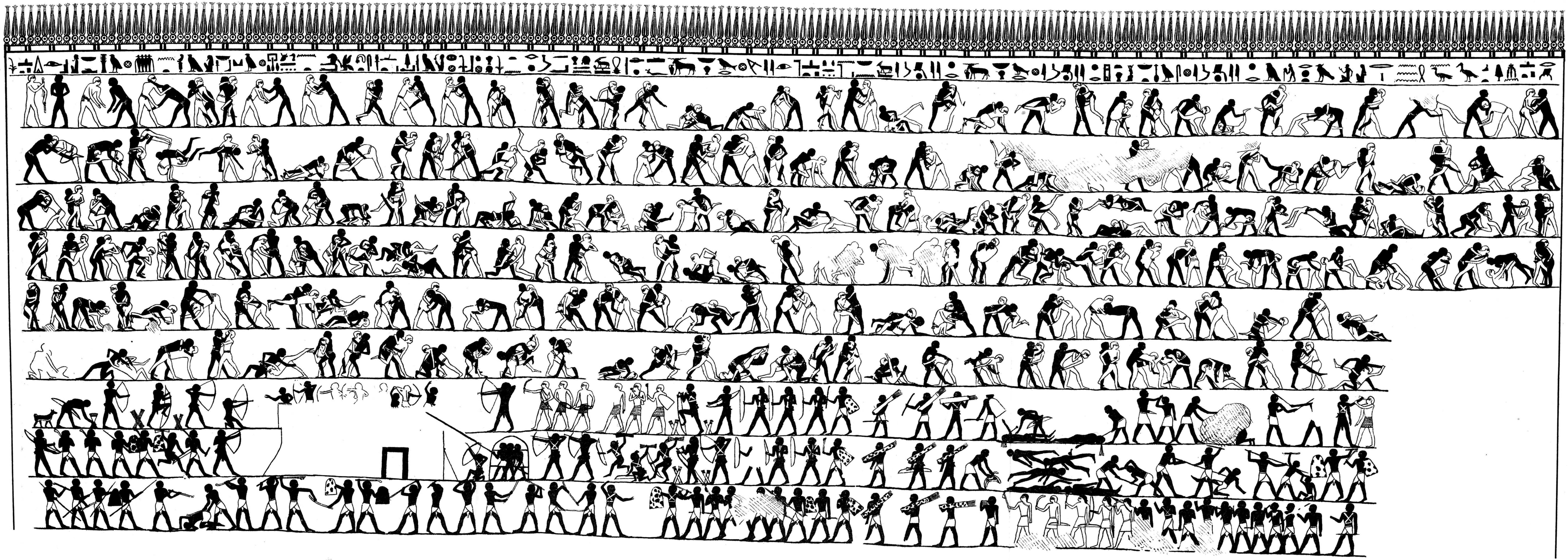




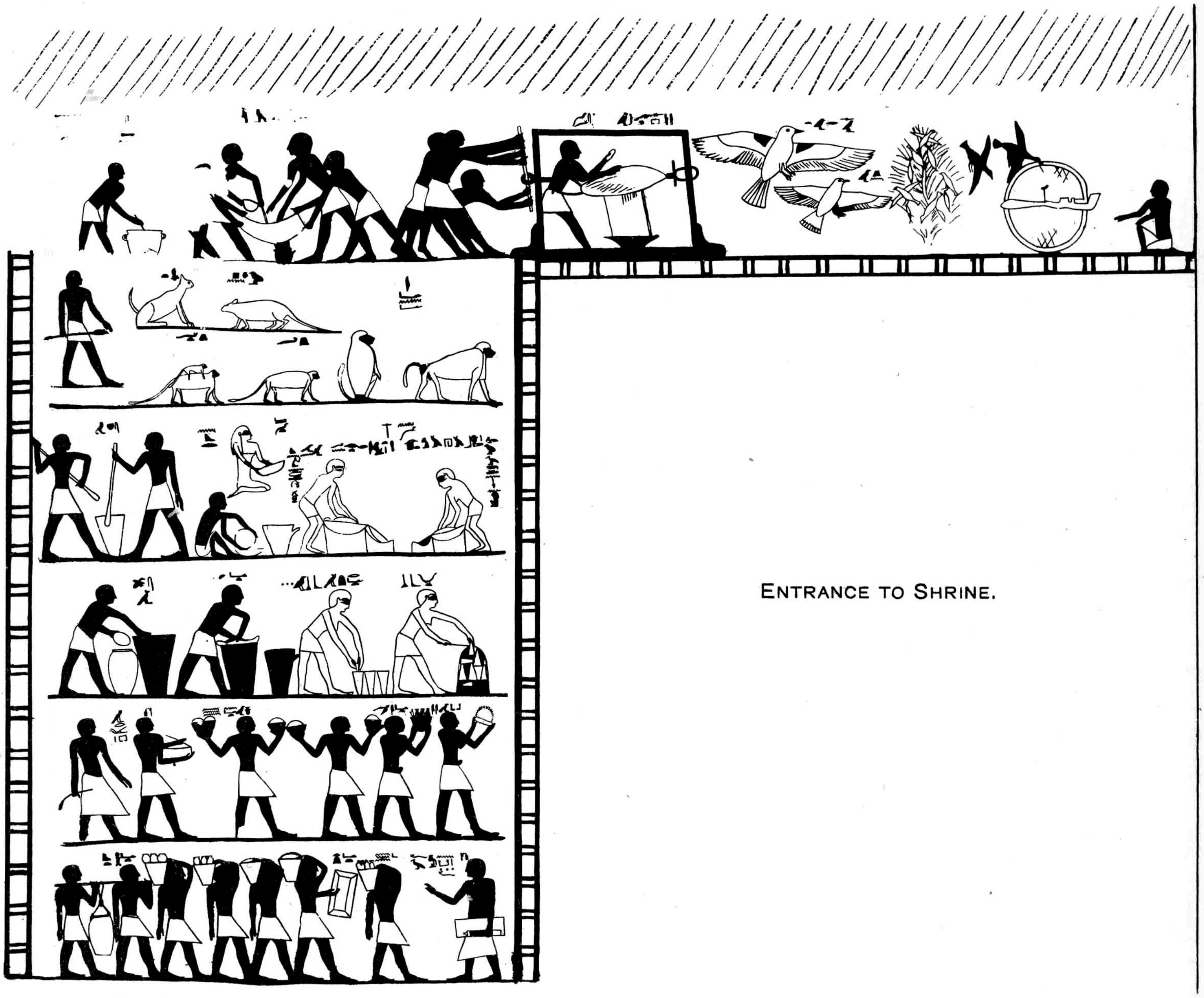
SECTION.



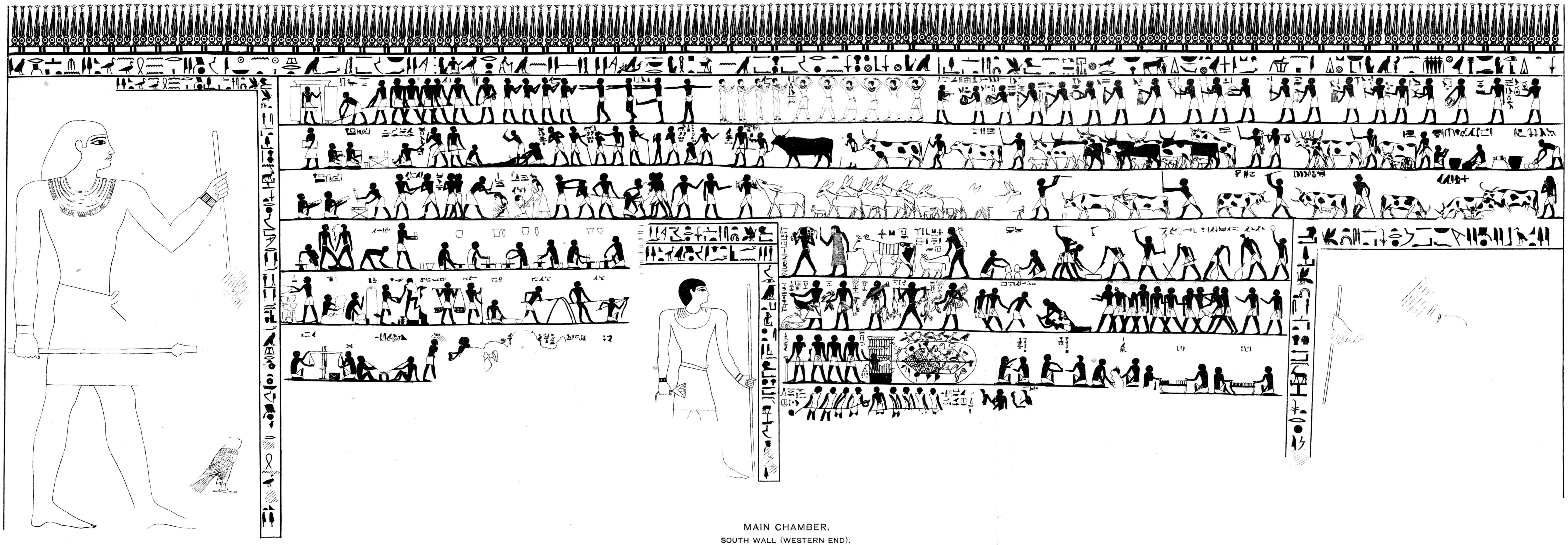
MAIN CHAMBER.
NORTH WALL.



Main Chamber.
East Wall.



MAIN CHAMBER.
SOUTH WALL (EASTERN END).



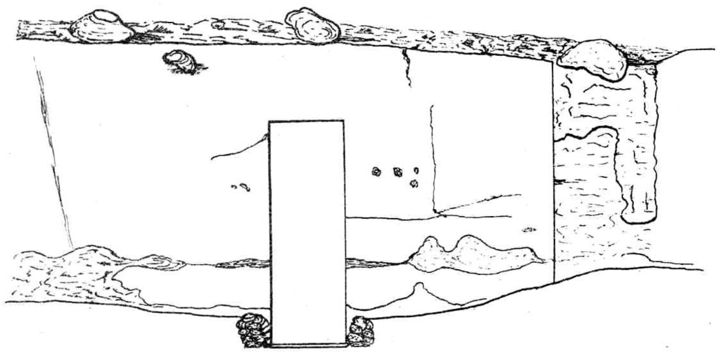
MAIN CHAMBER.
SOUTH WALL (WESTERN END).



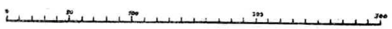
GROUP OF WRESTLERS FROM THE EAST WALL.

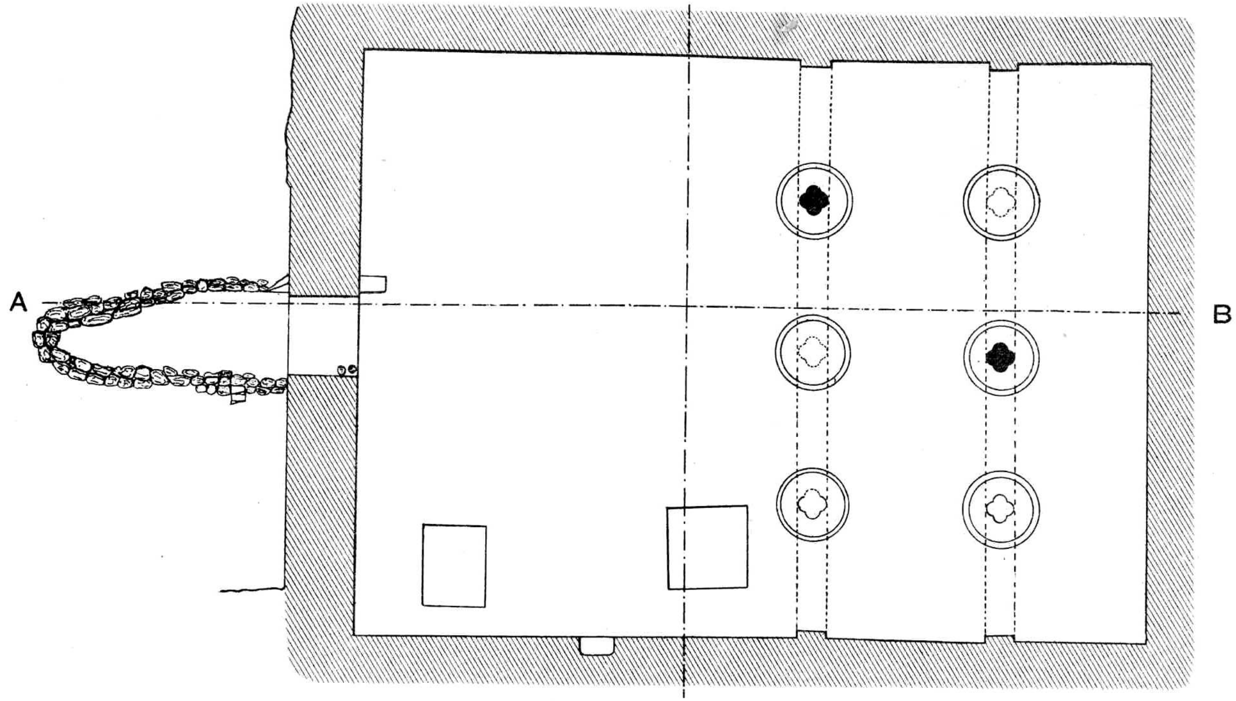


A GAME OF BALL.

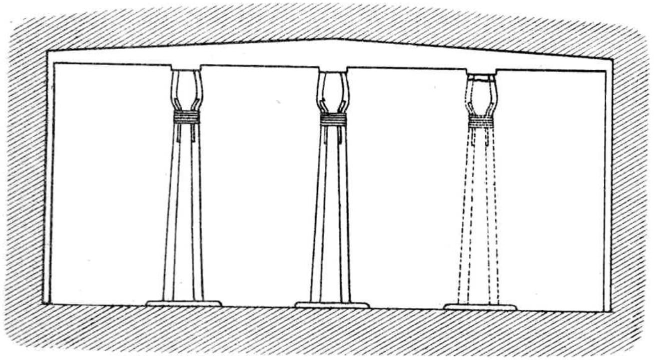


EXTERIOR ELEVATION

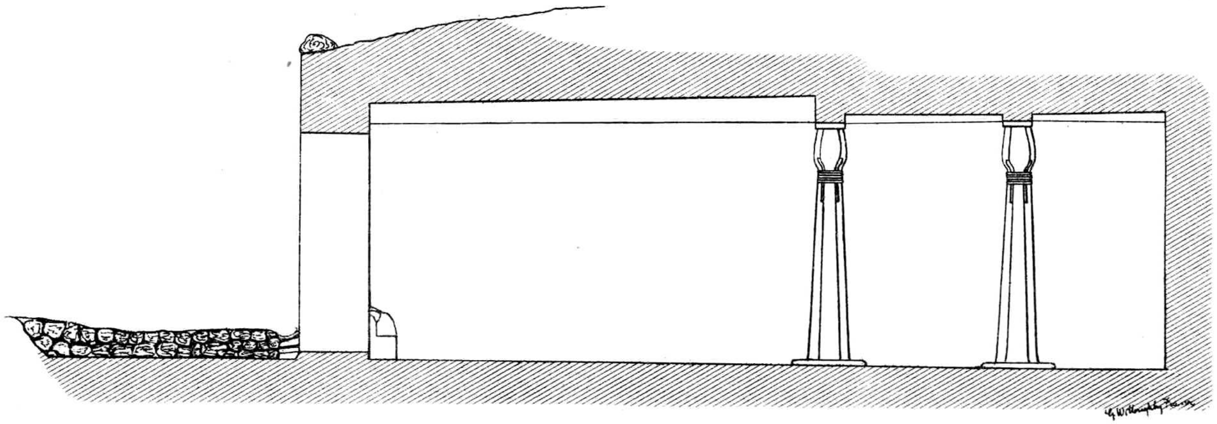




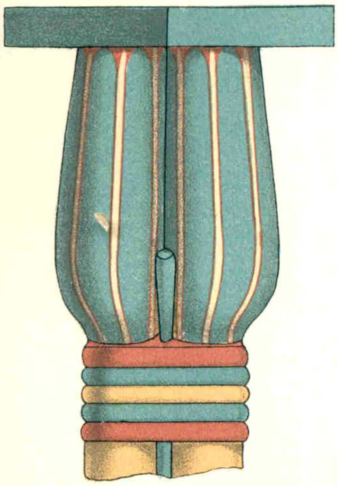
PLAN

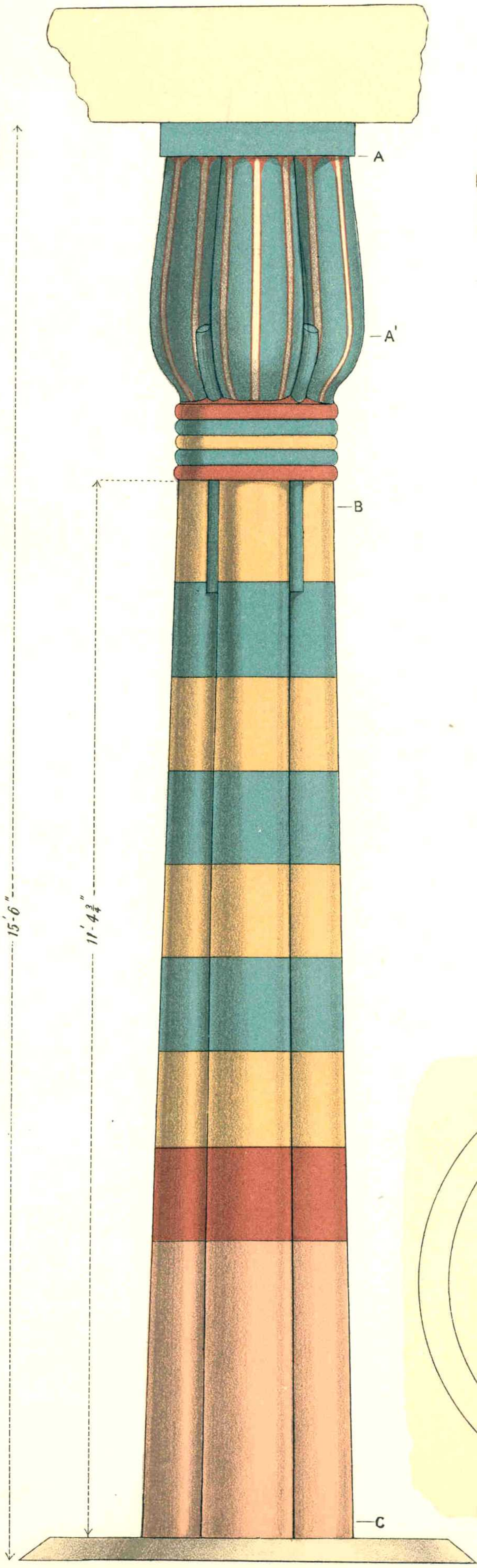


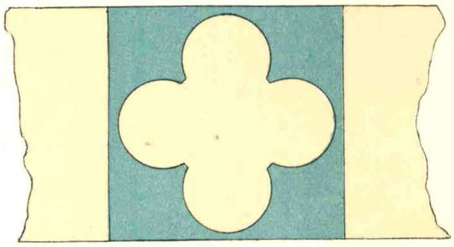
SECTIONAL ELEVATION



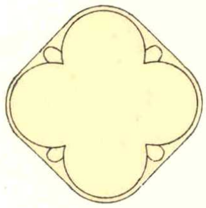
LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON A.B.



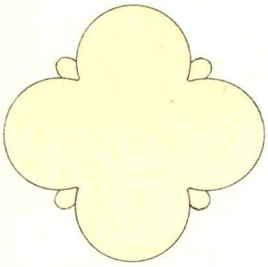




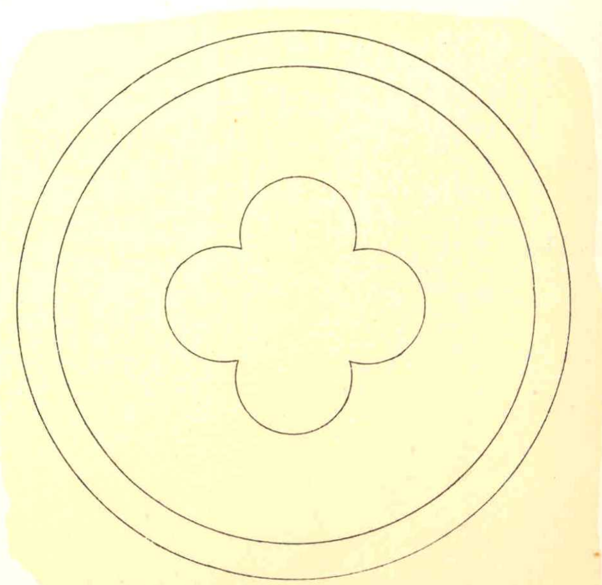
PLAN AT A
LOOKING UP



PLAN AT B
LOOKING UP



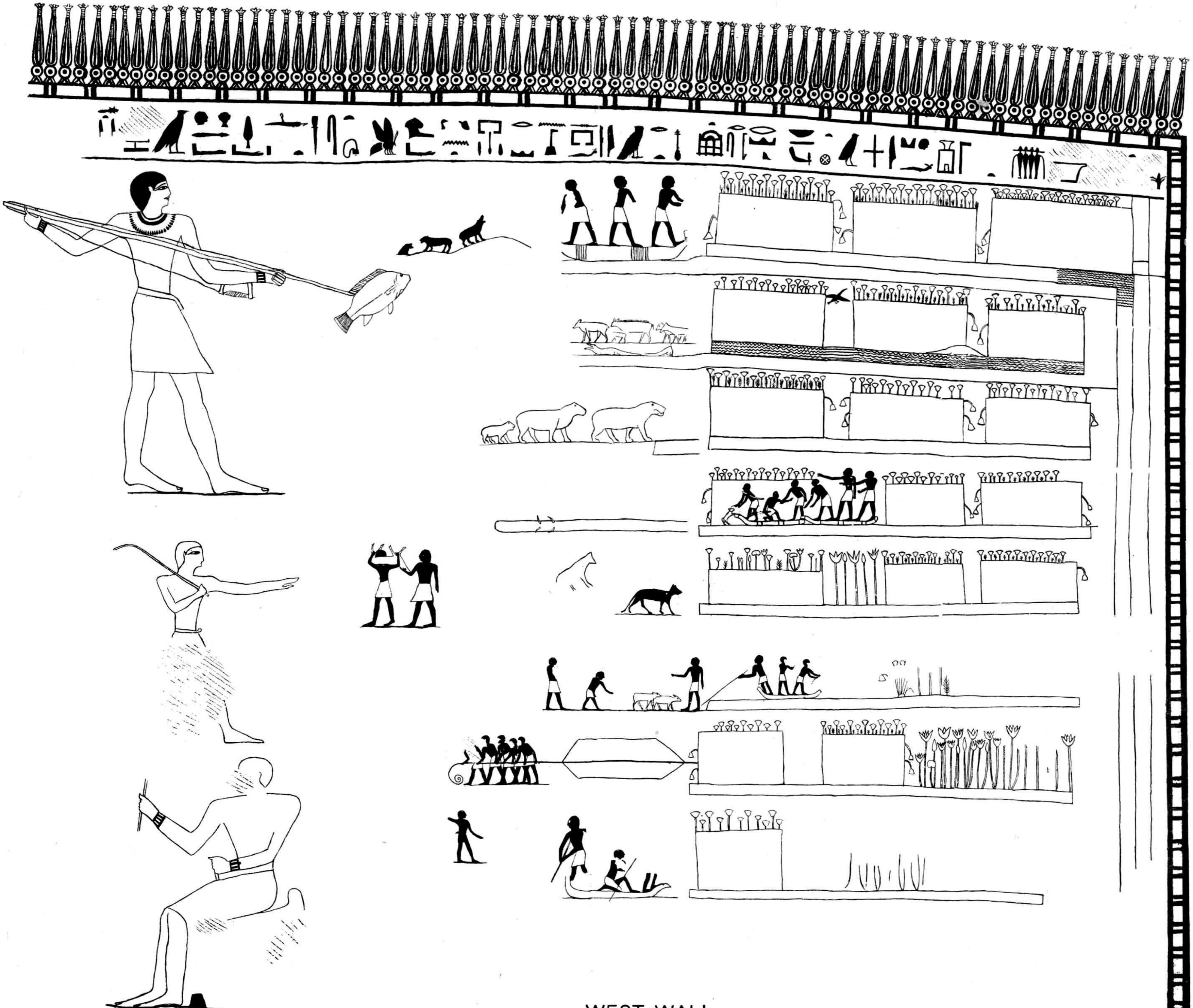
PLAN AT A¹
LOOKING DOWN



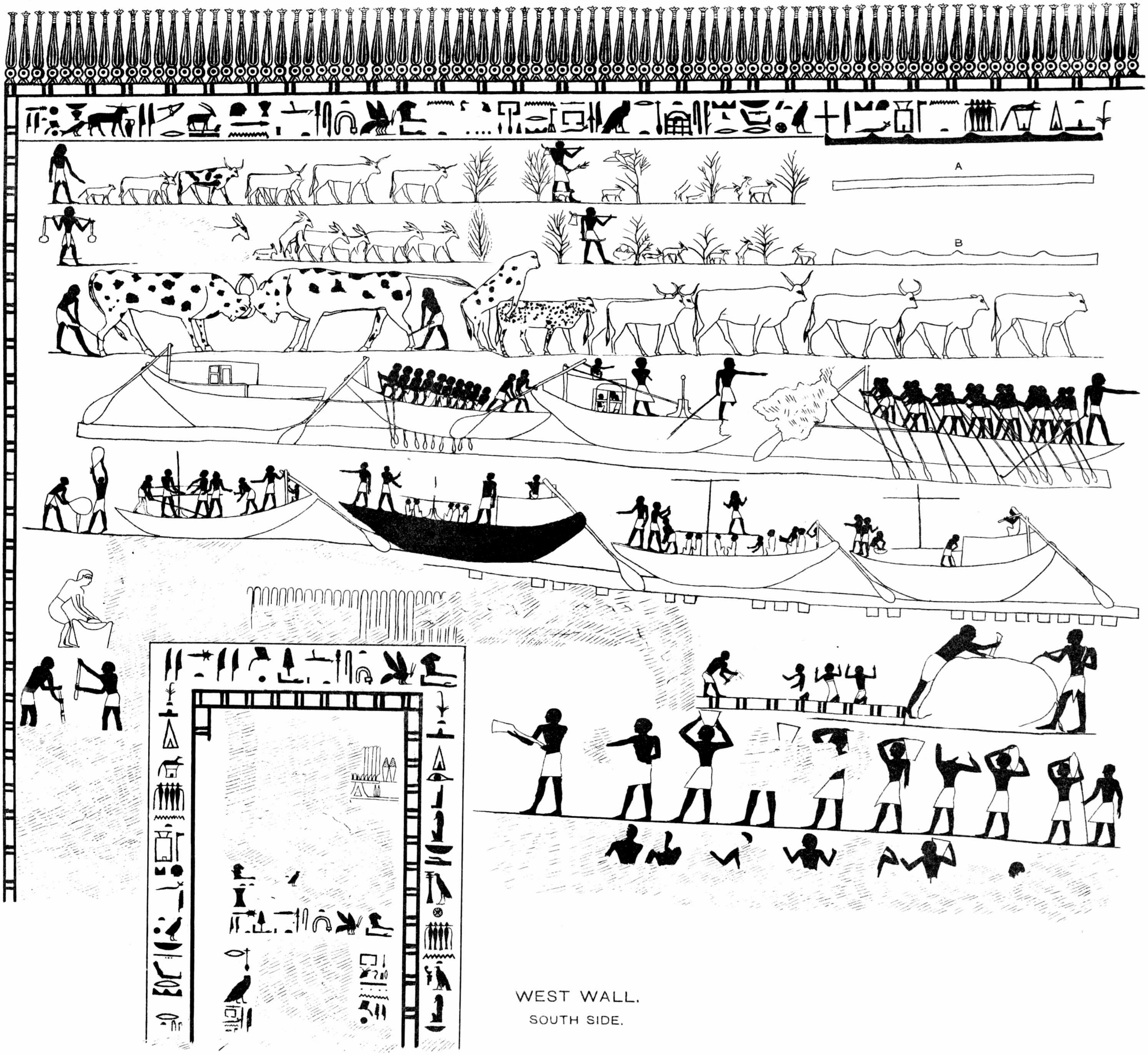
PLAN AT C
LOOKING DOWN

ELEVATION

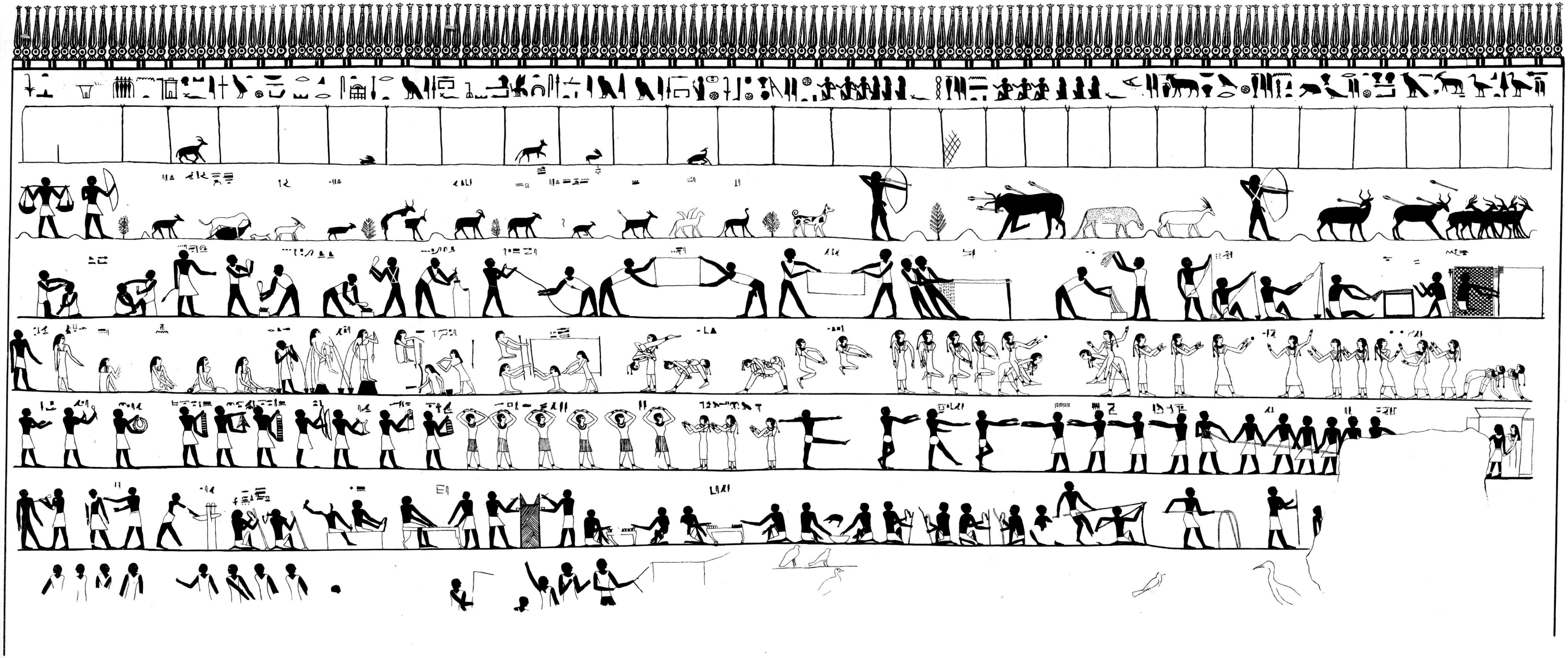
DETAILS OF COLUMN.



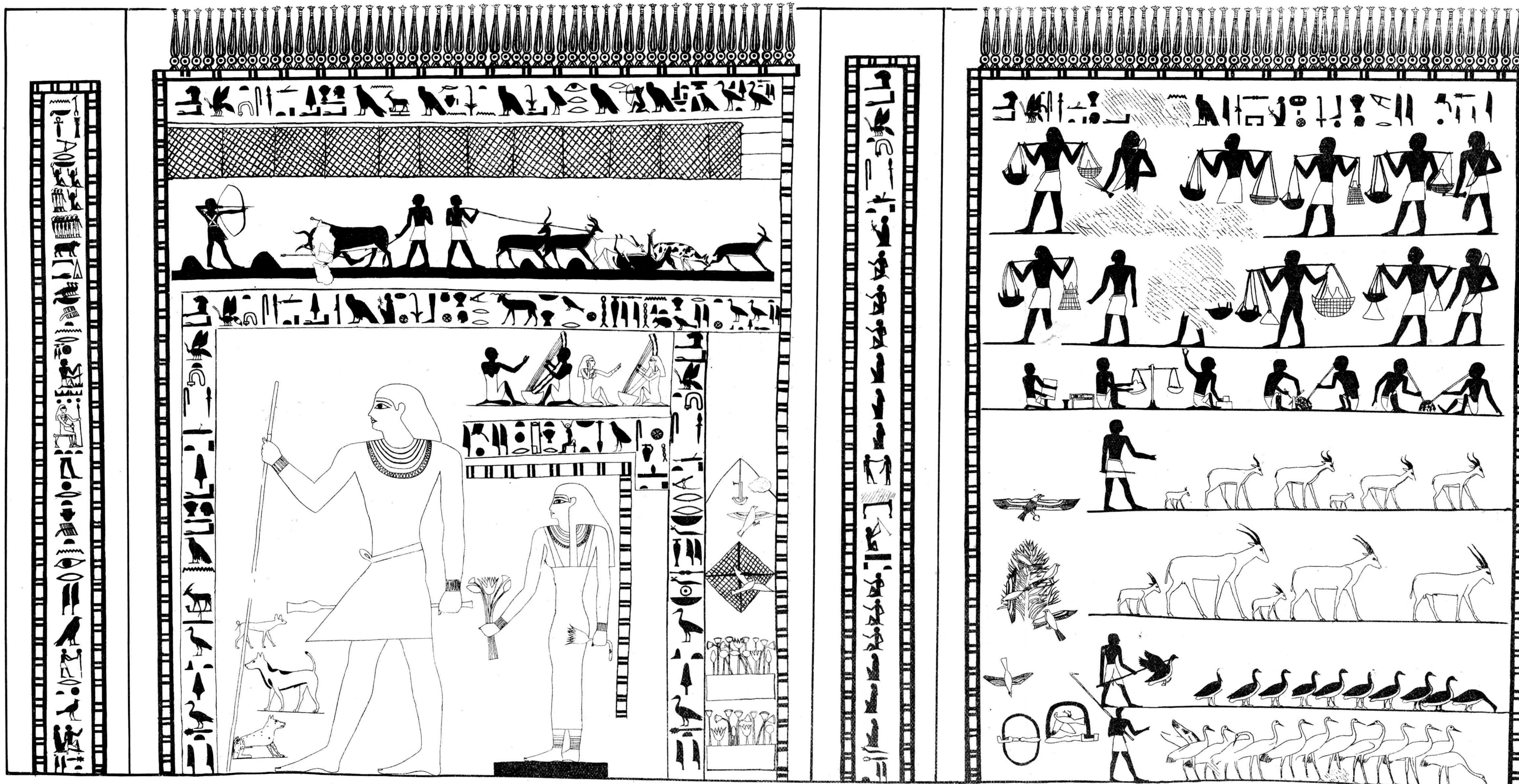
WEST WALL
NORTH SIDE.



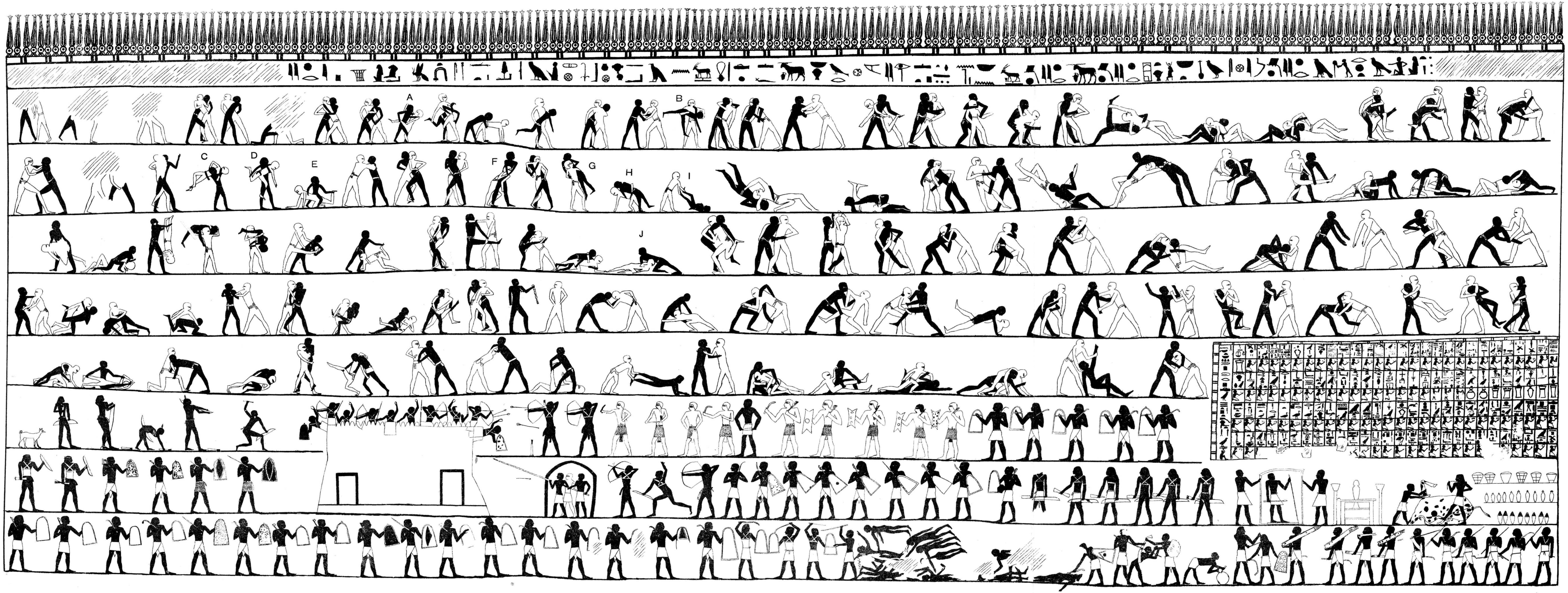
WEST WALL.
SOUTH SIDE.



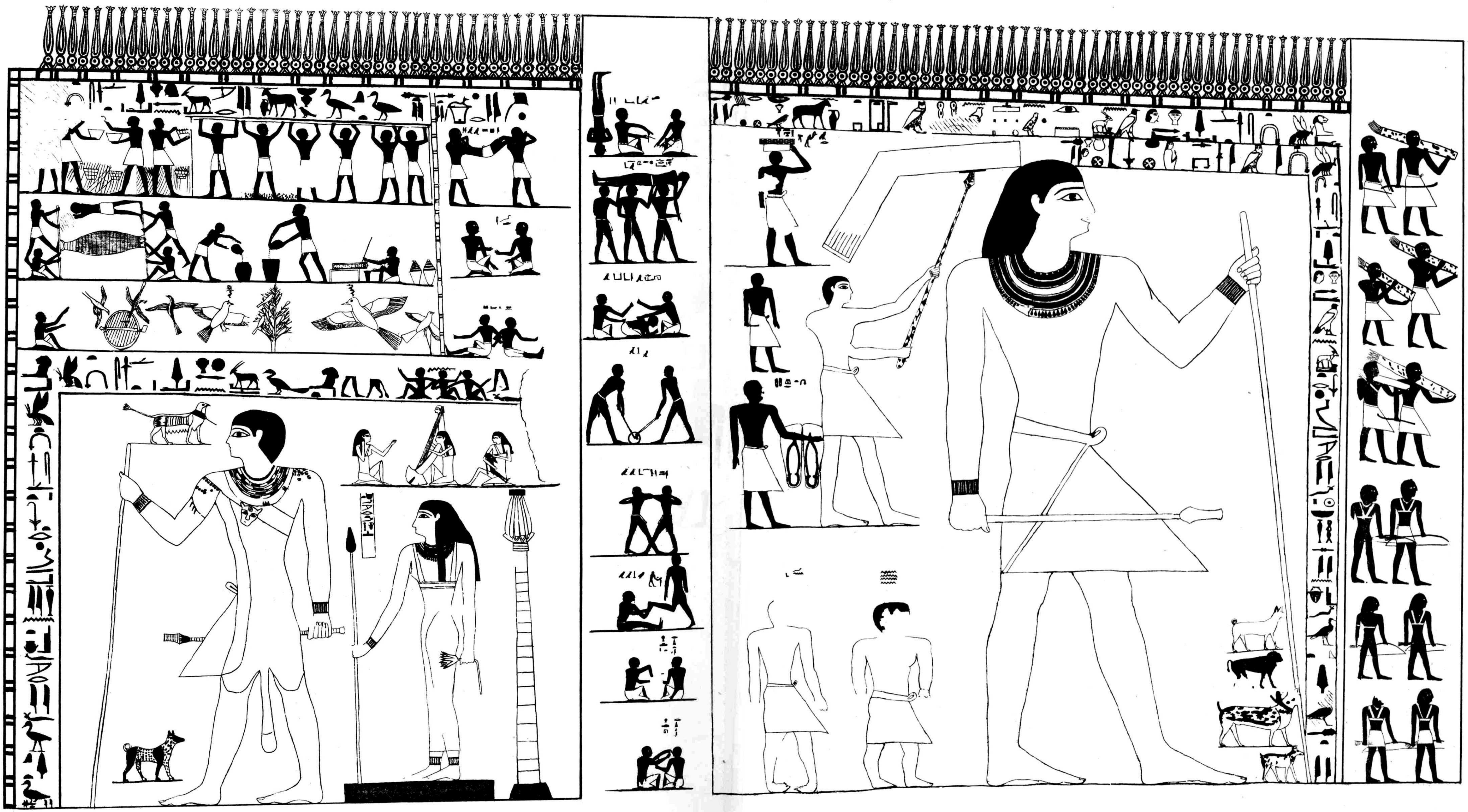
NORTH WALL
(WEST HALF).



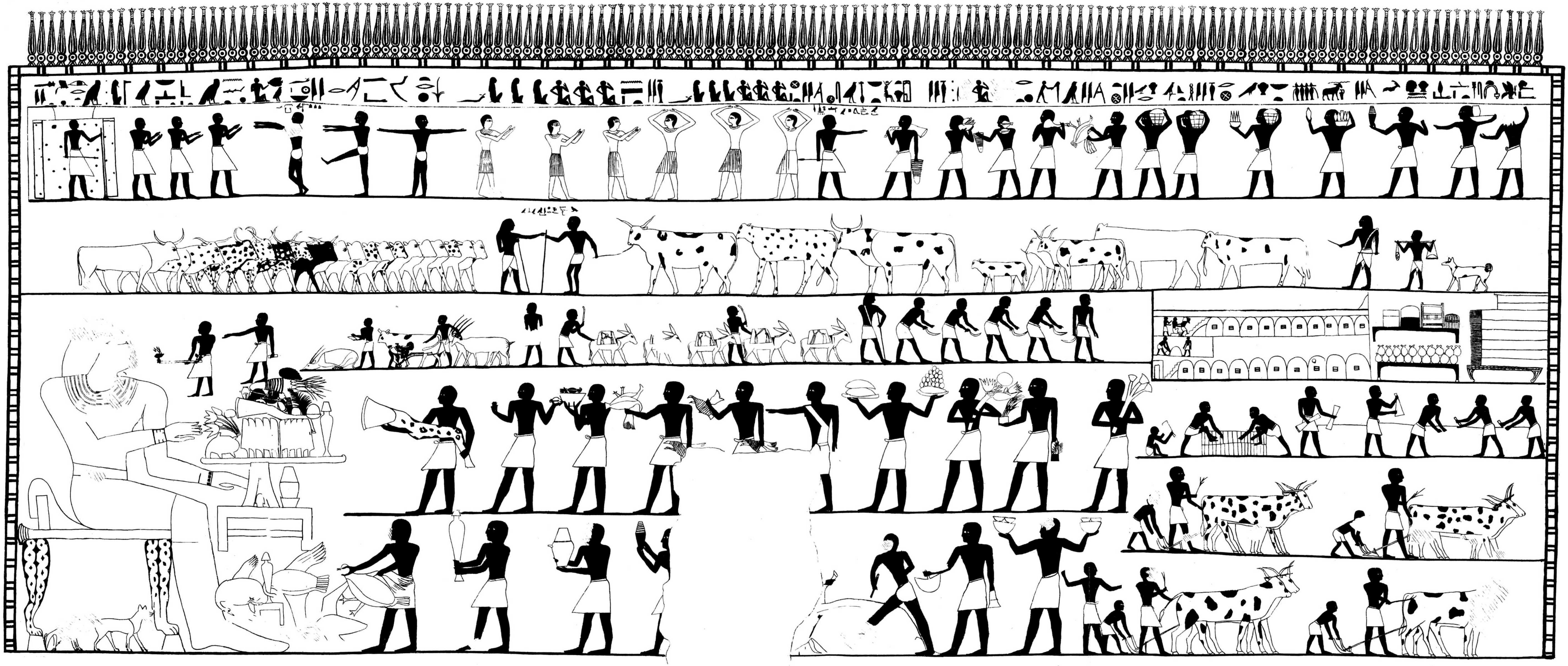
NORTH WALL
(EASTERN HALF).



EAST WALL.

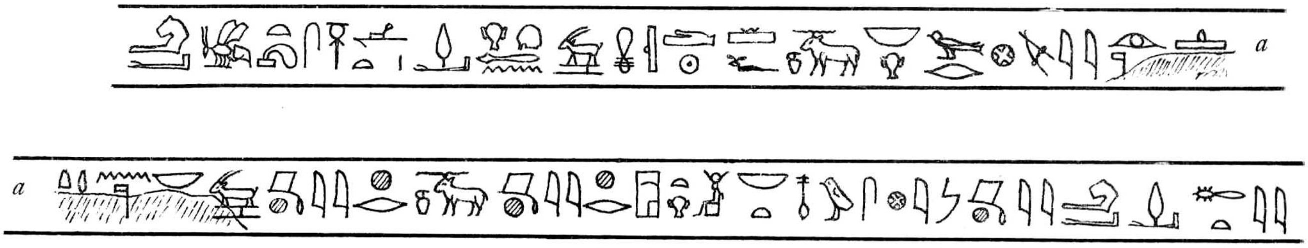


SOUTH WALL
(EASTERN HALF).

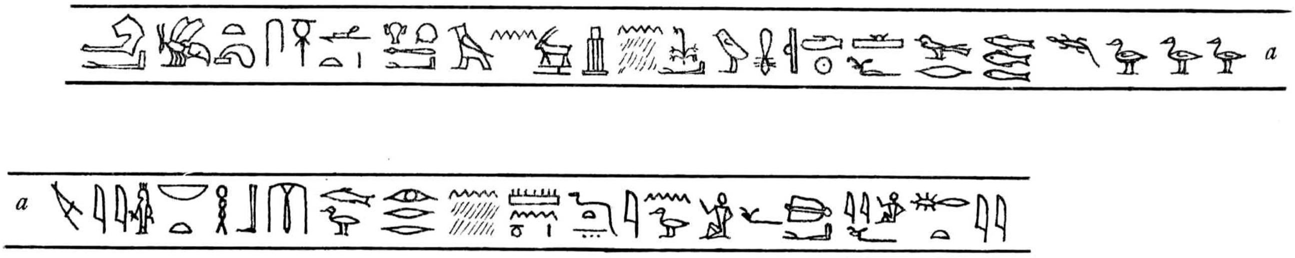


SOUTH WALL
(WESTERN HALF).

WESTERN ARCHITRAVE.

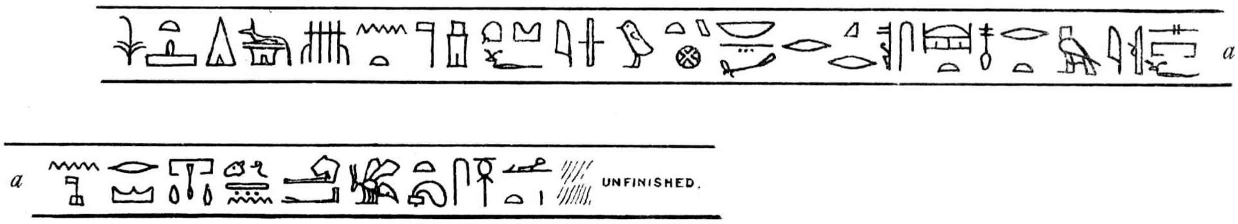


NORTHERN END.



SOUTHERN END.

EASTERN ARCHITRAVE.



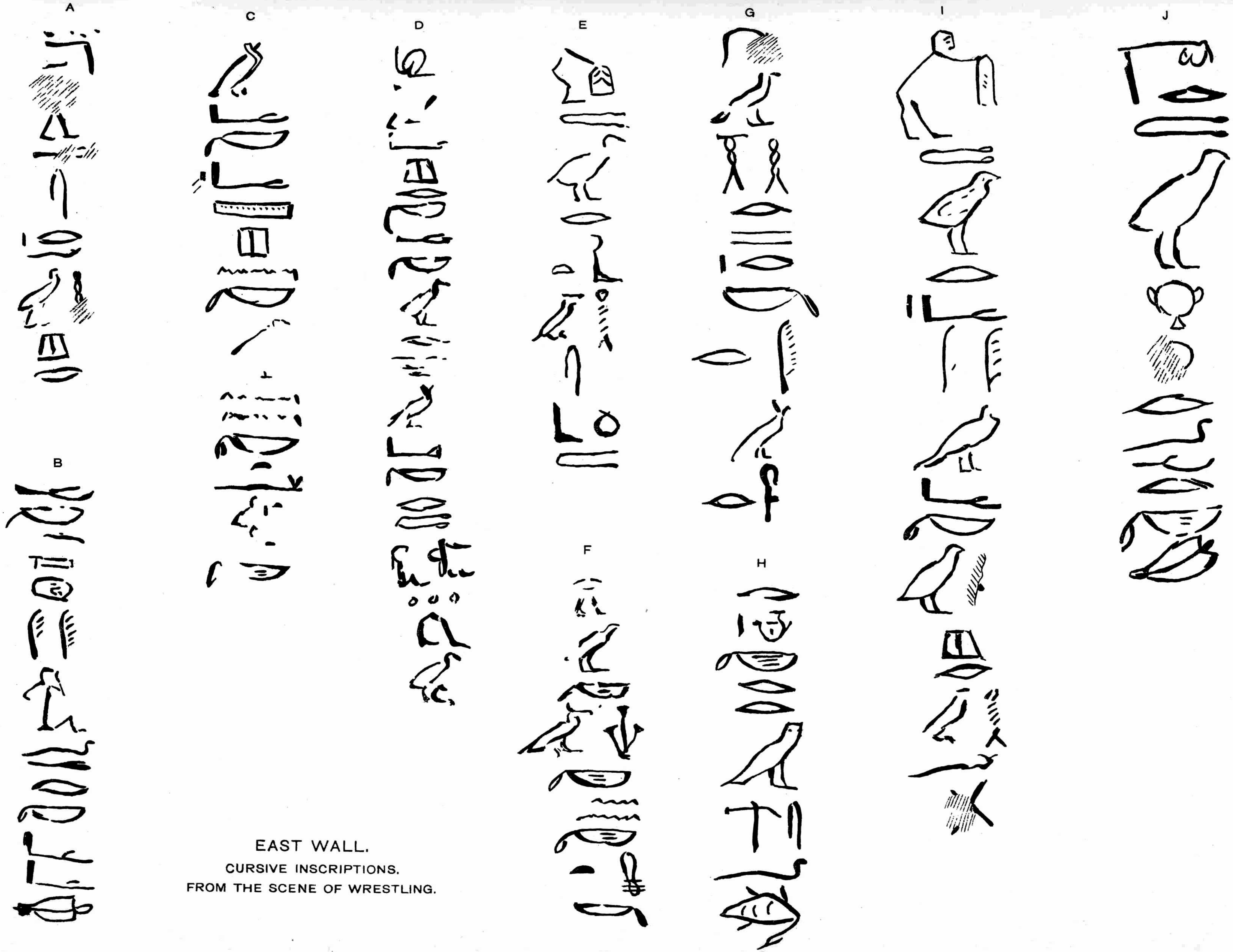
SOUTHERN END.



NORTHERN END.

ARCHITRAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

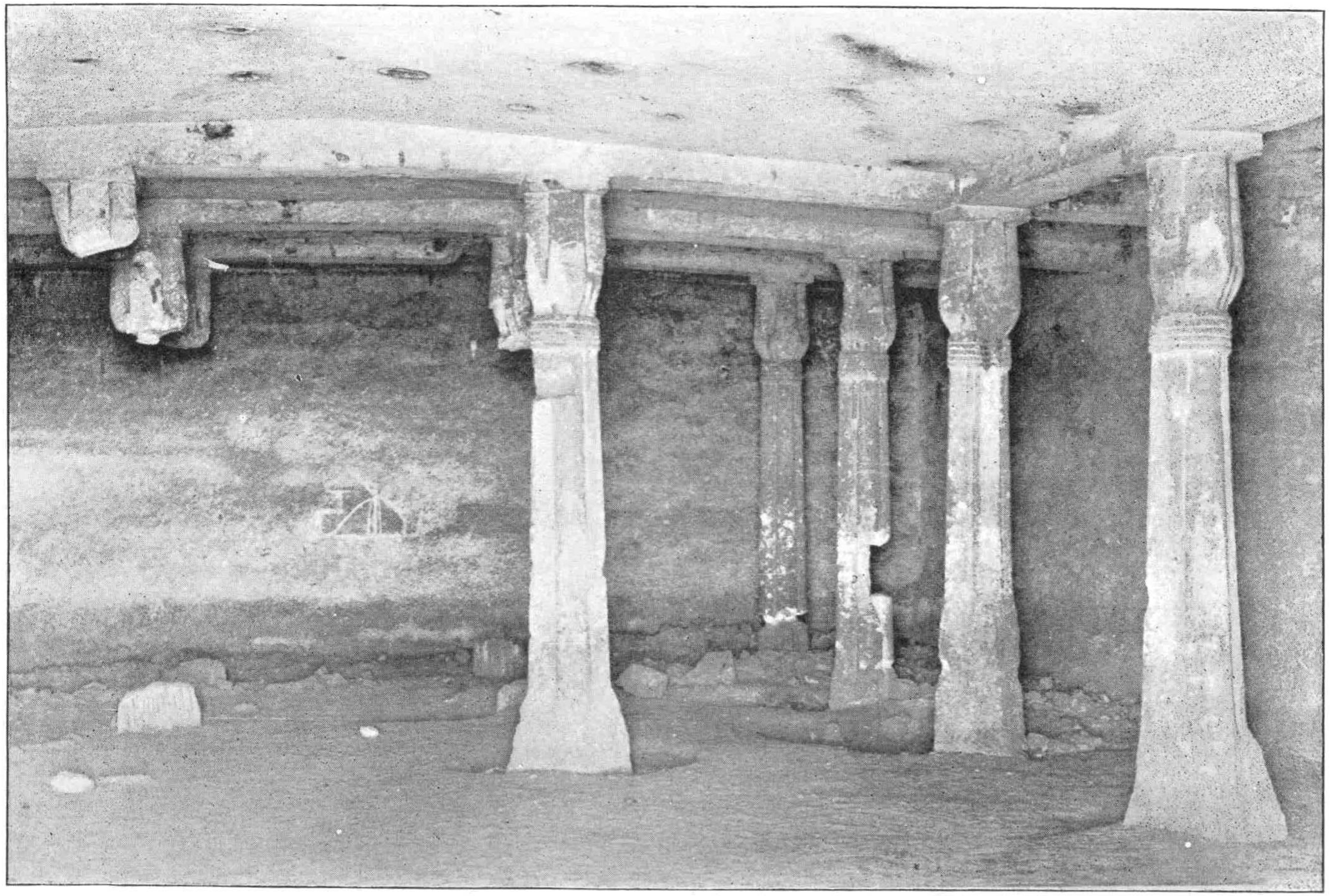
(Hand copy by P.E.N.).



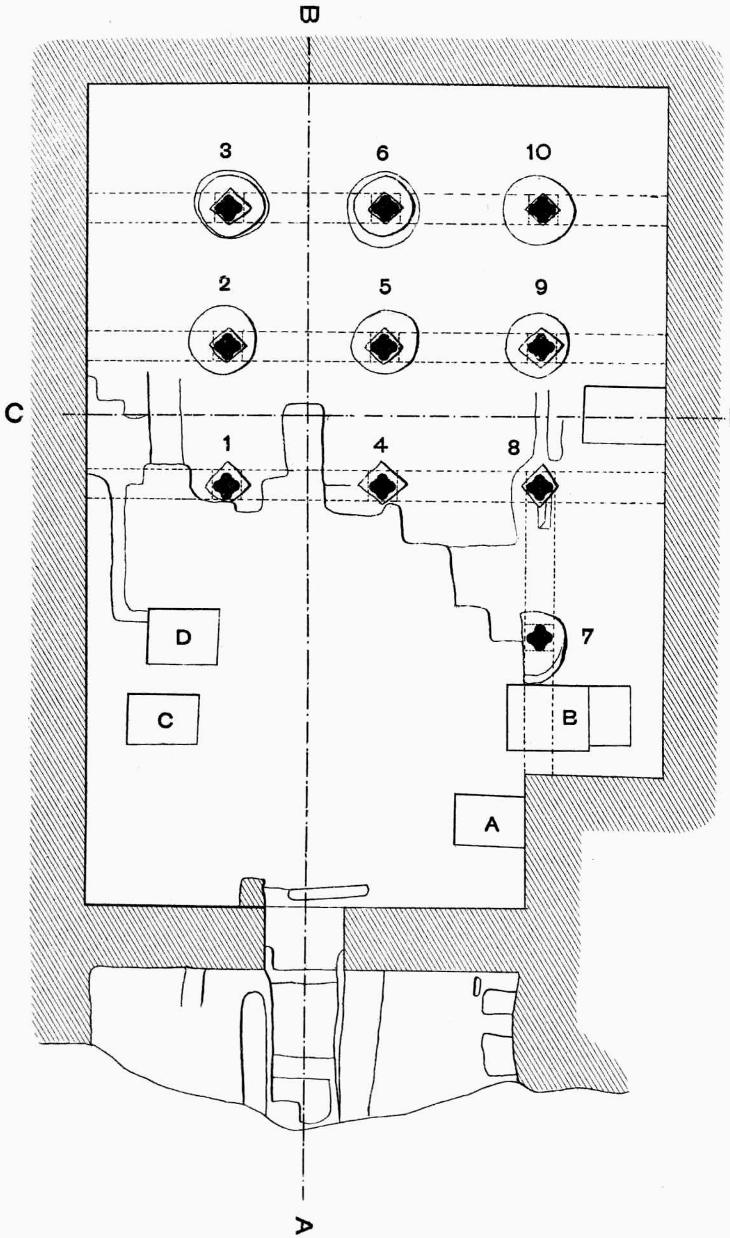
EAST WALL.

CURSIVE INSCRIPTIONS.

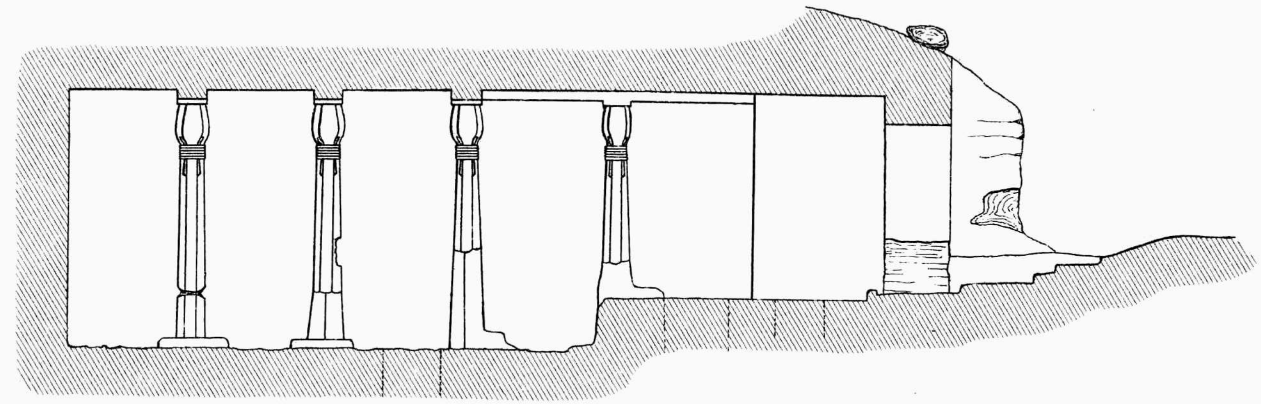
FROM THE SCENE OF WRESTLING.



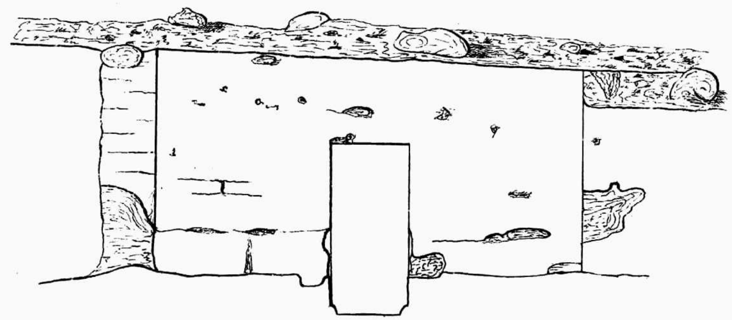
VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE TOMB.



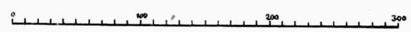
Plan

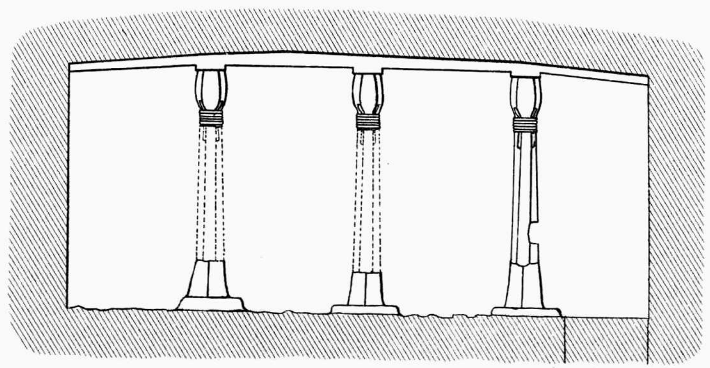


Longitudinal Section on A B.



Exterior Elevation.

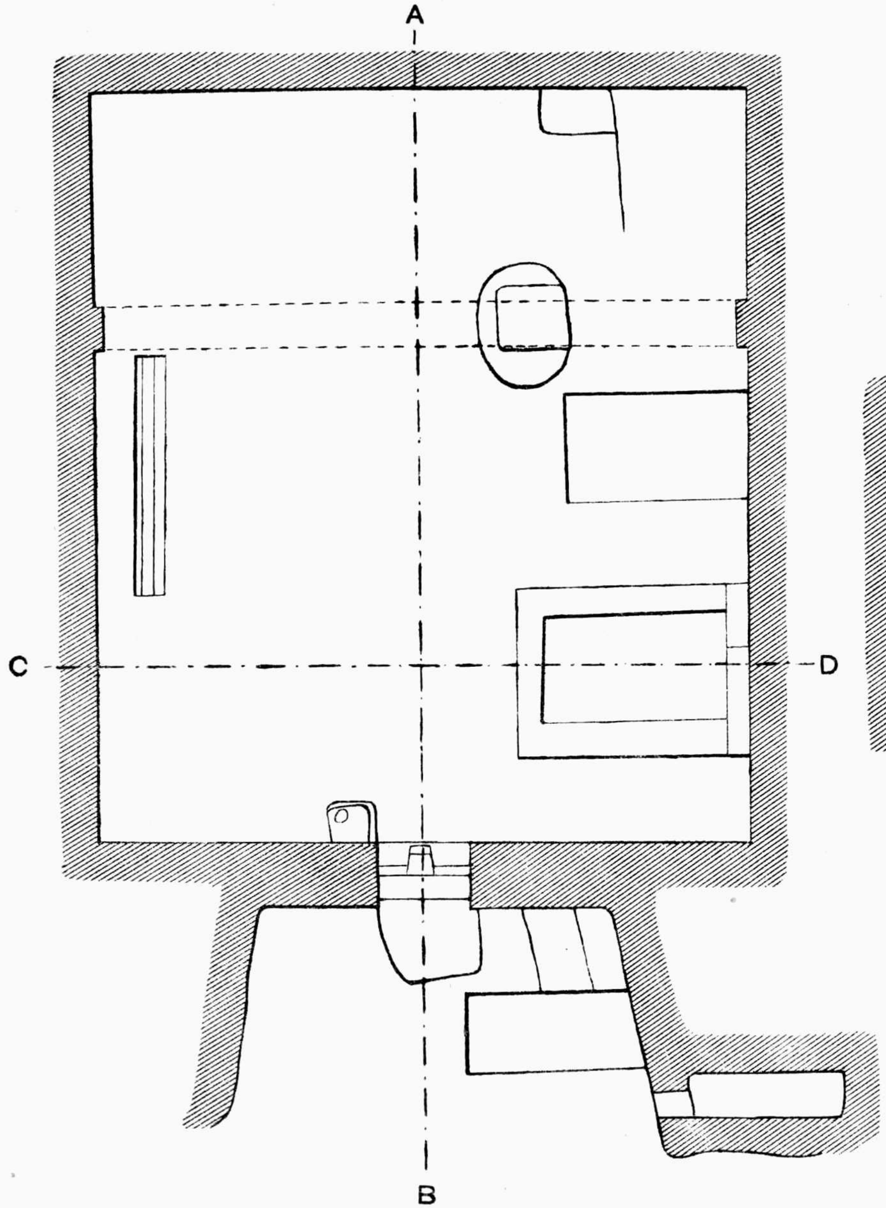




Sectional Elevation on C D.

G. Willoughby Fraser

TOMB NO. 21.

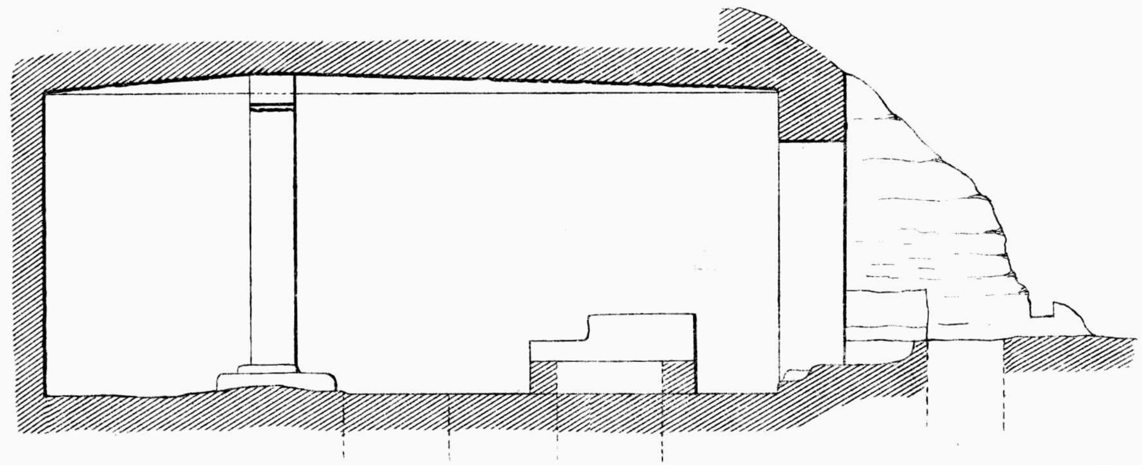


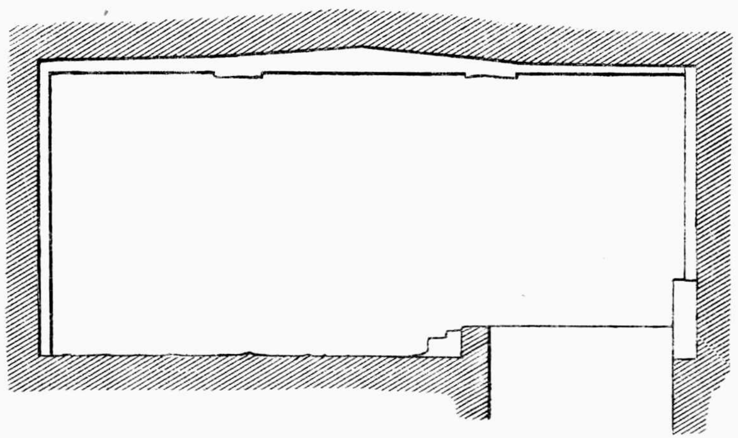
PLAN



Scale of inches

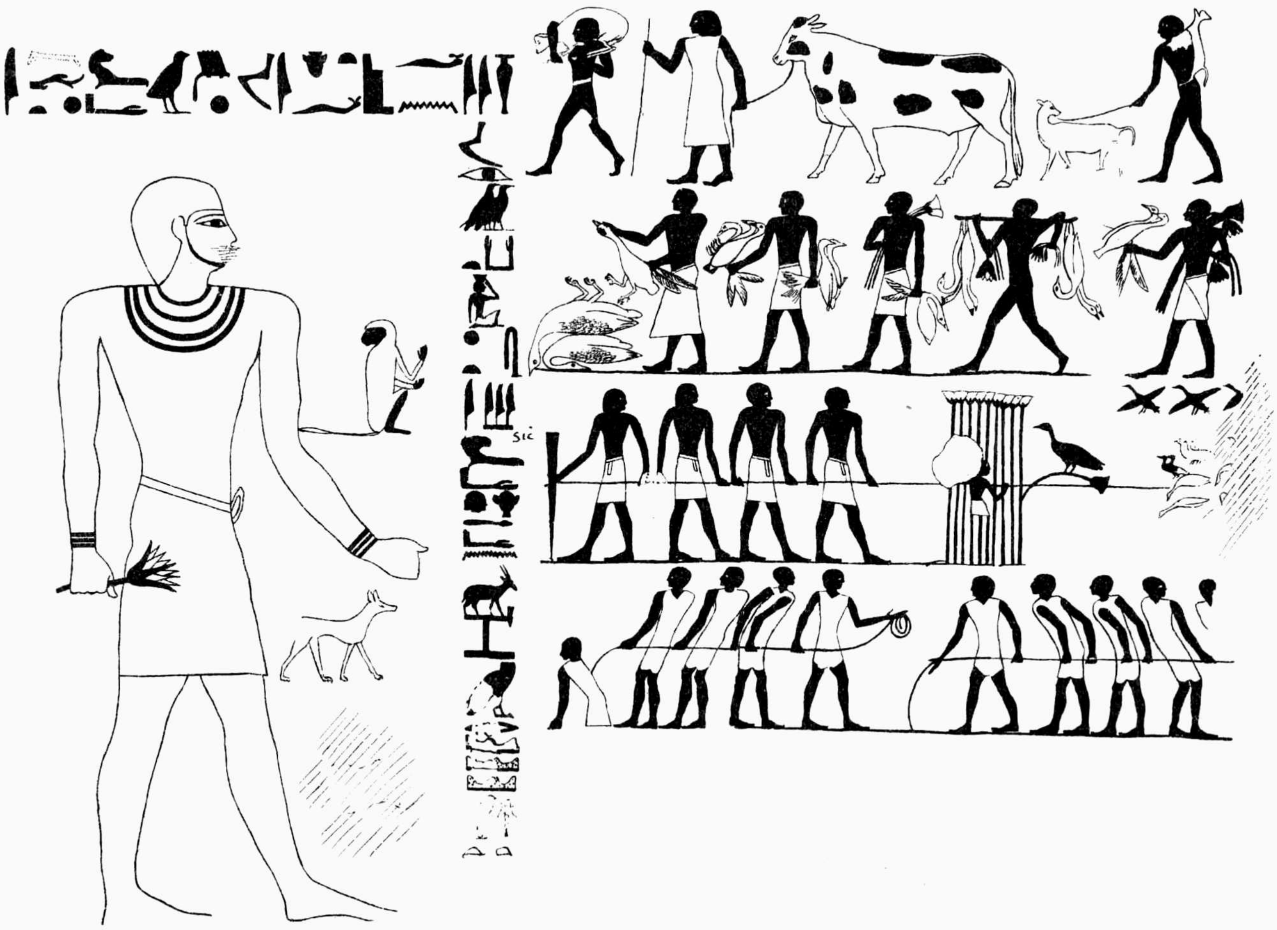
LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON A B.



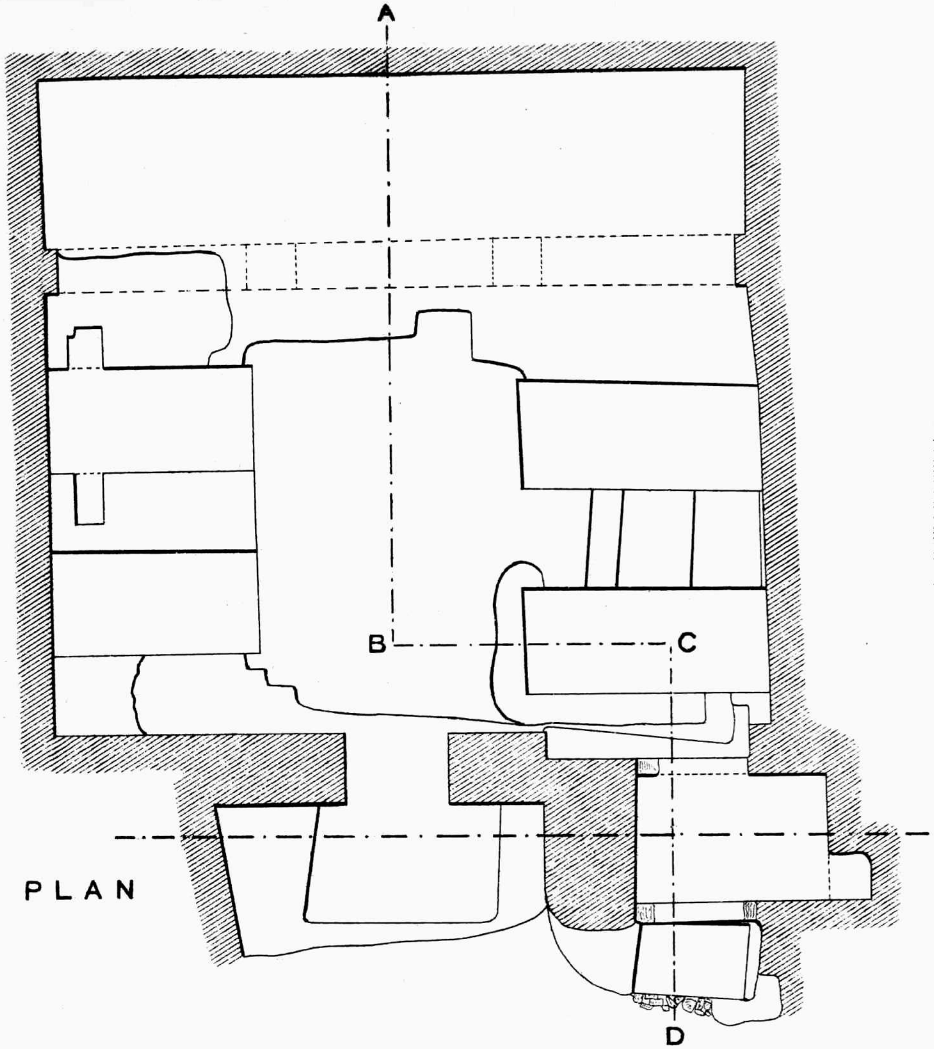


SECTIONAL ELEVATION ON C D.

G. W. Fraser

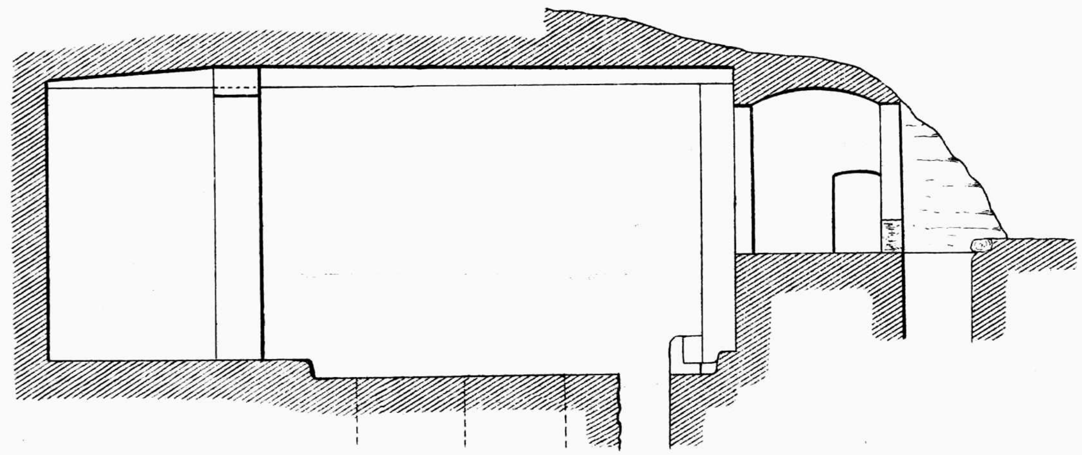


SOUTH WALL.

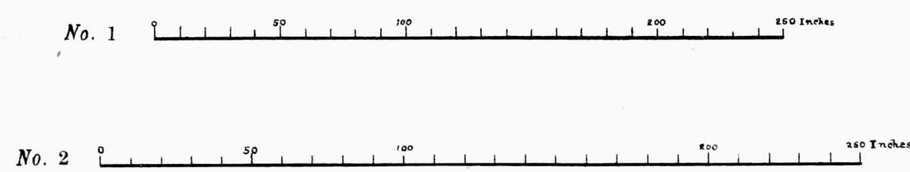


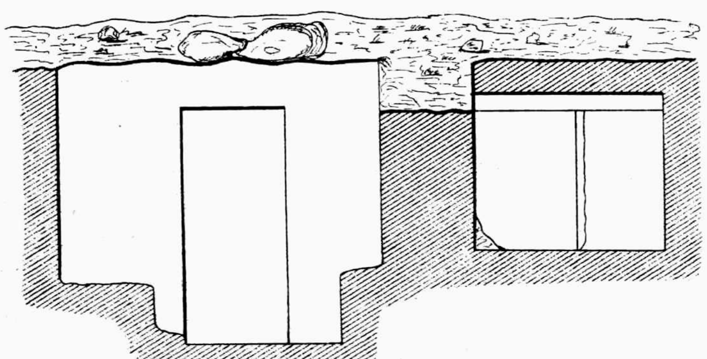
PLAN

SECTION ON A B C D

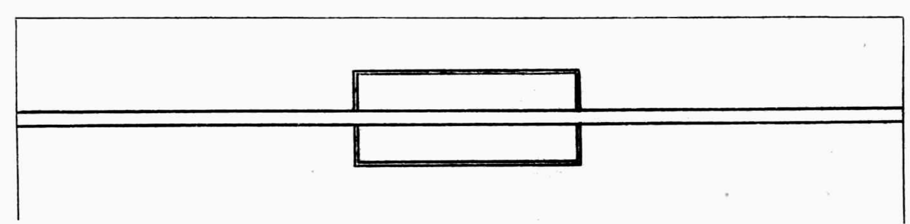


Scale of inches





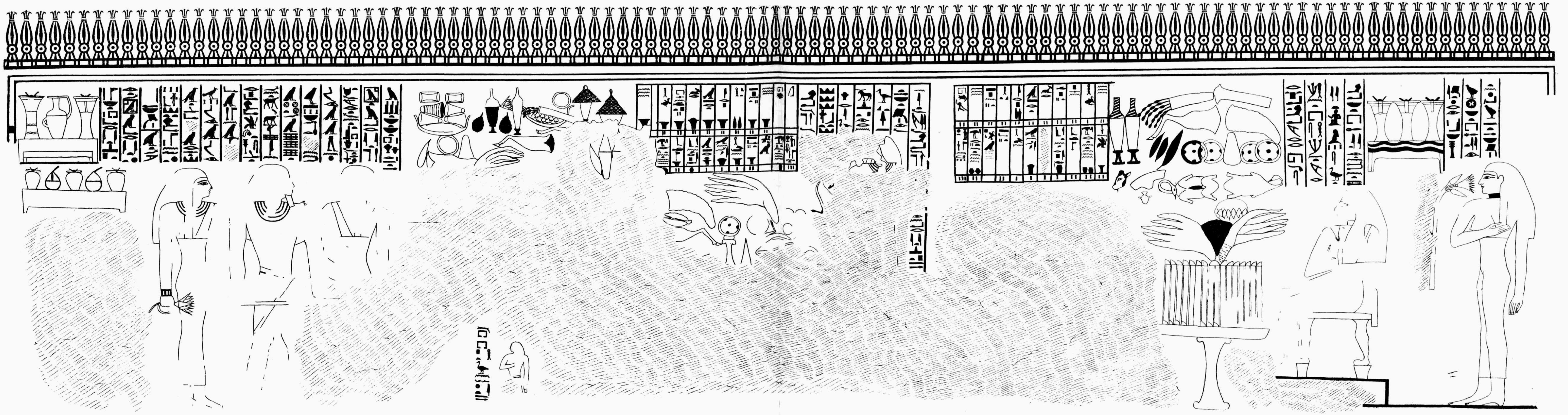
FRONT ELEVATION



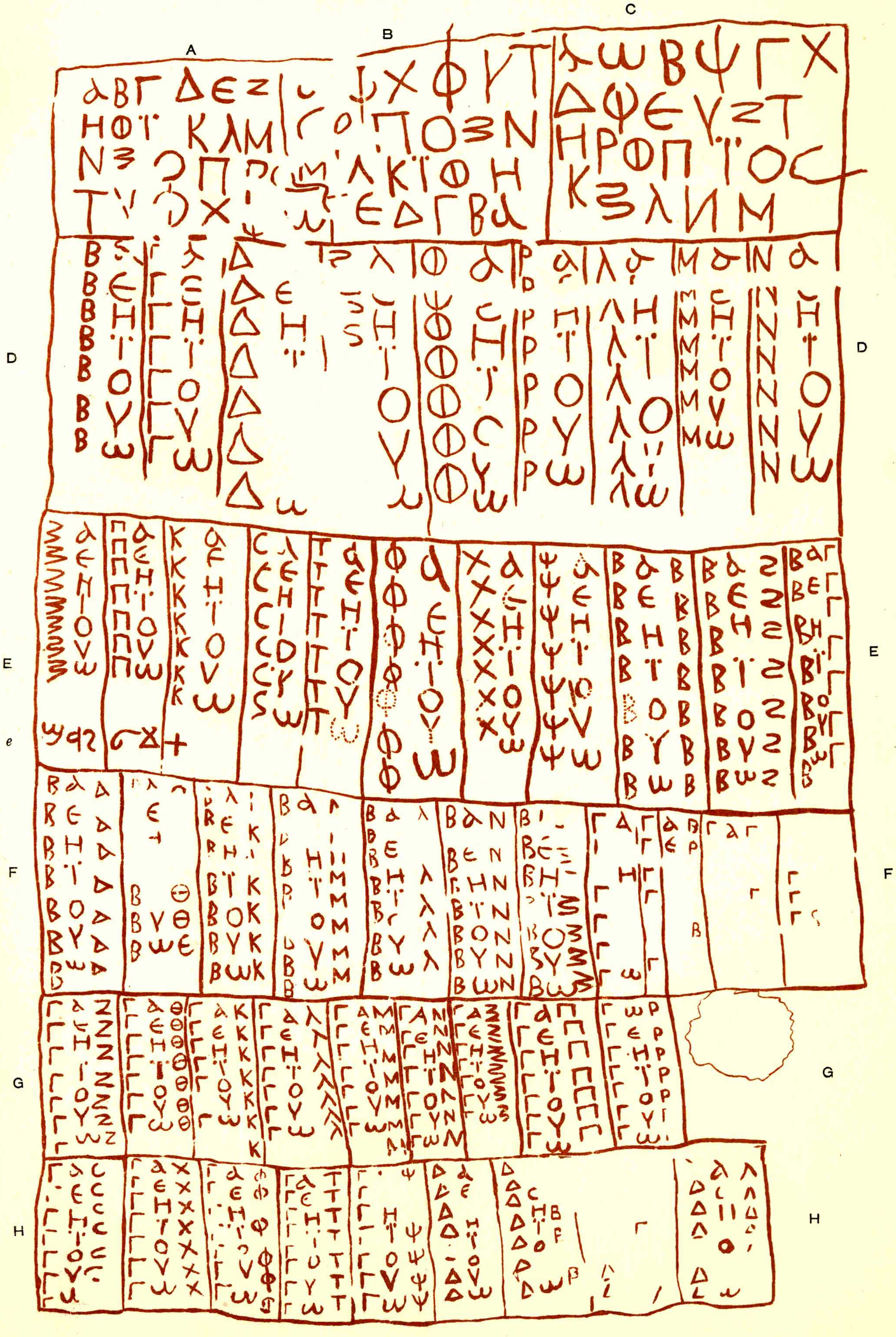
PLAN OF PAINTED ROOF

Scale No. 2

G. W. Fraser

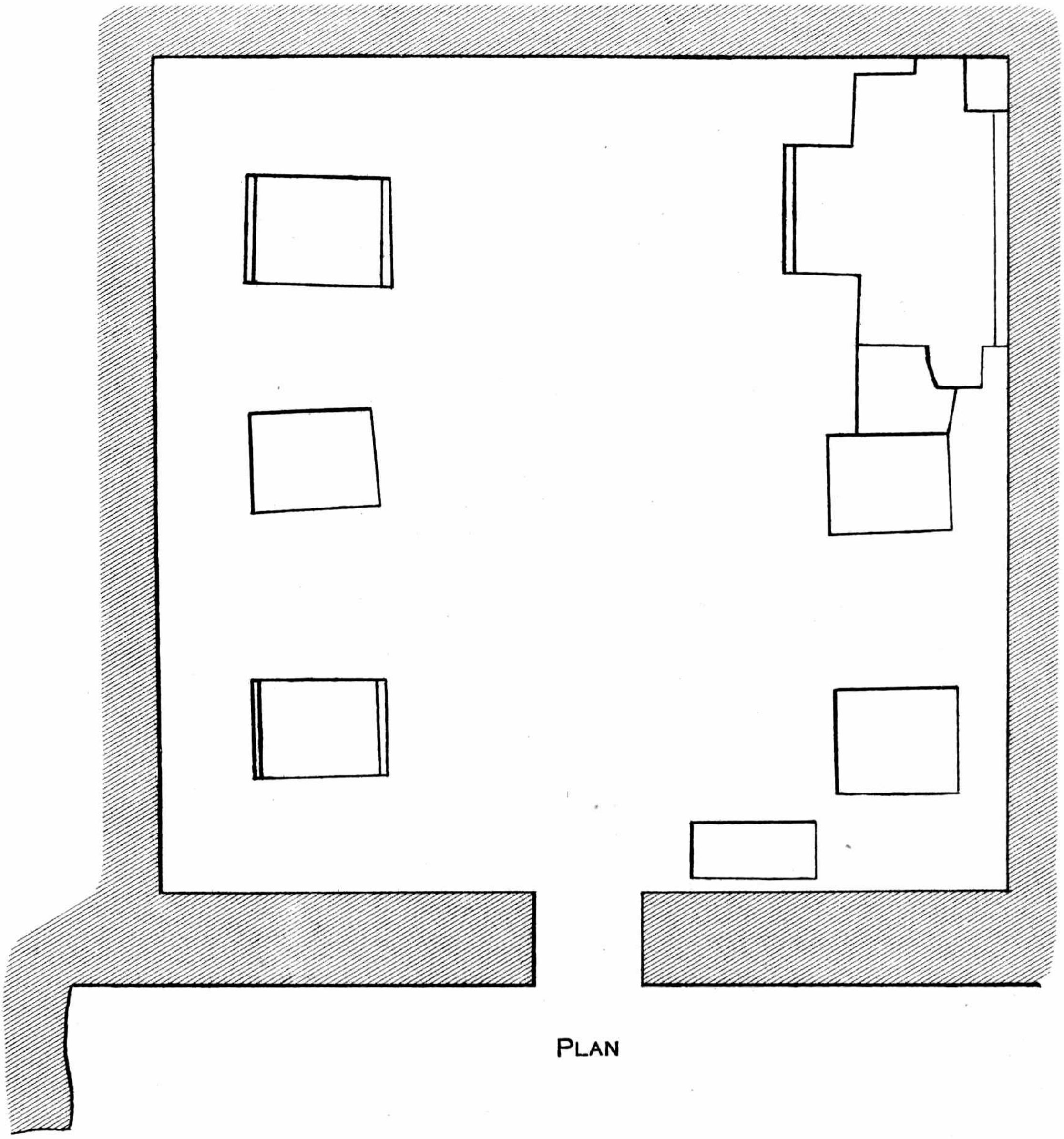


EAST WALL.

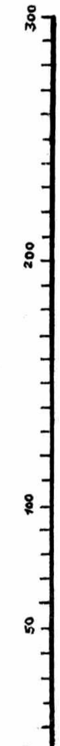


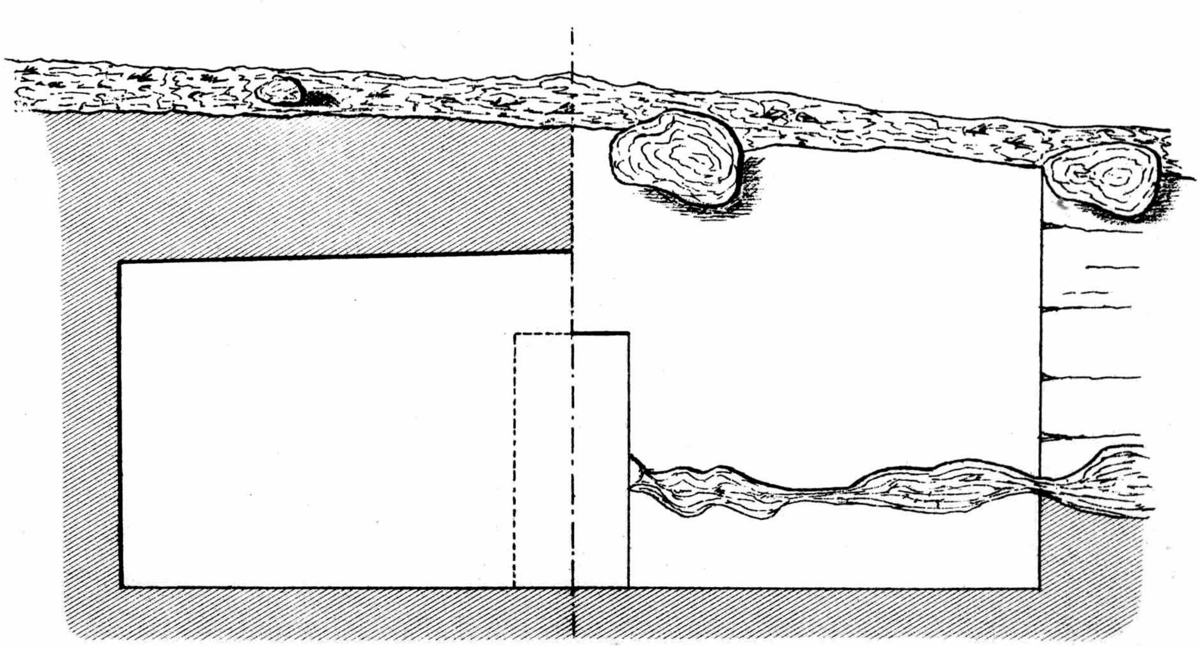
COPTIC INSCRIPTION.

NORTH WALL.



PLAN

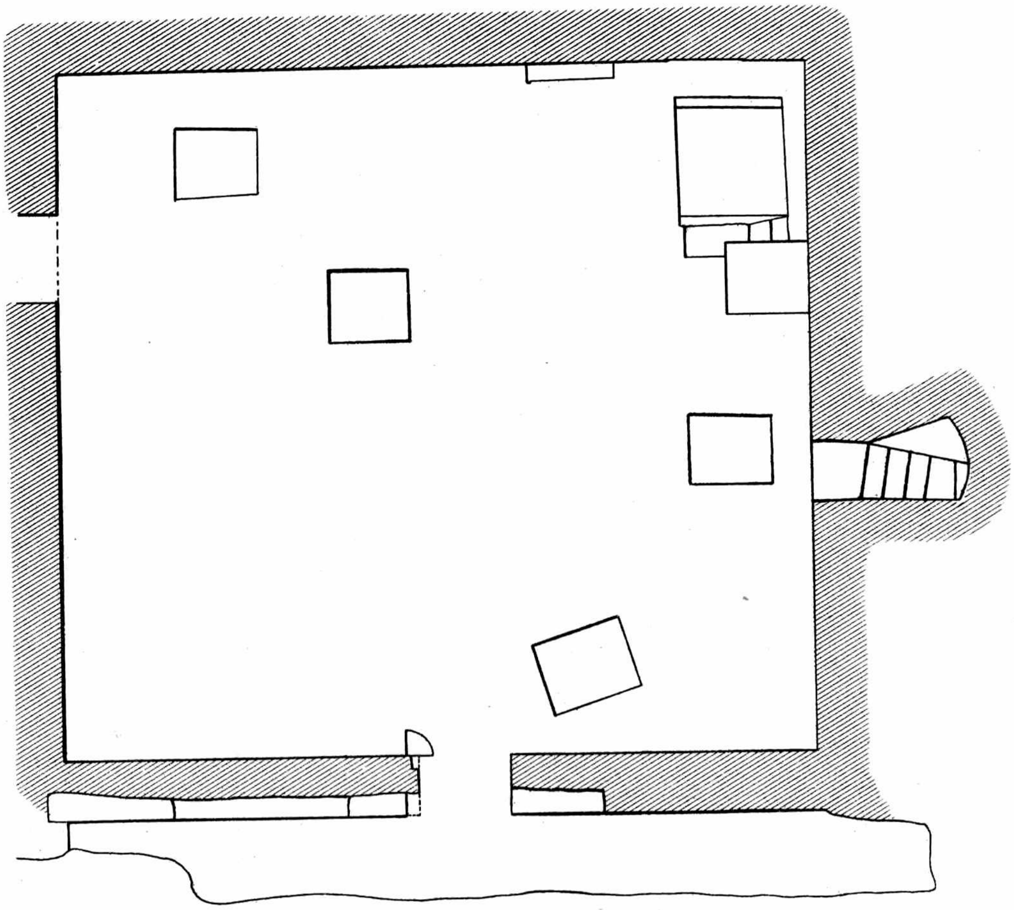




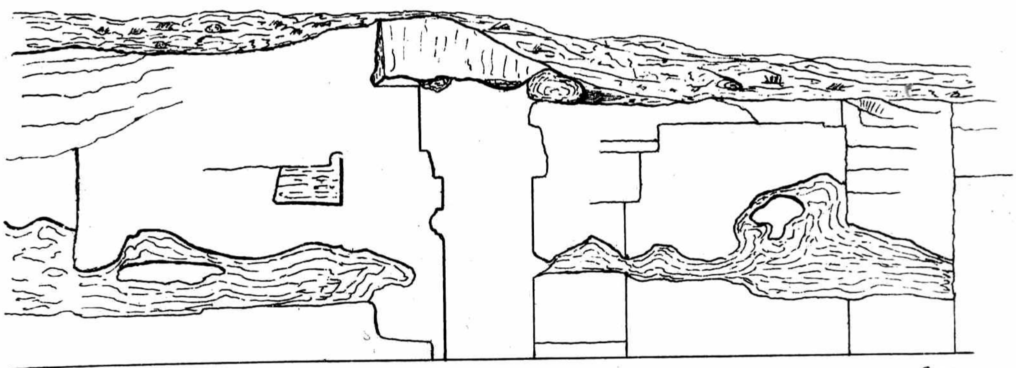
SECTION

FRONT ELEVATION

PLAN AND SECTIONS.



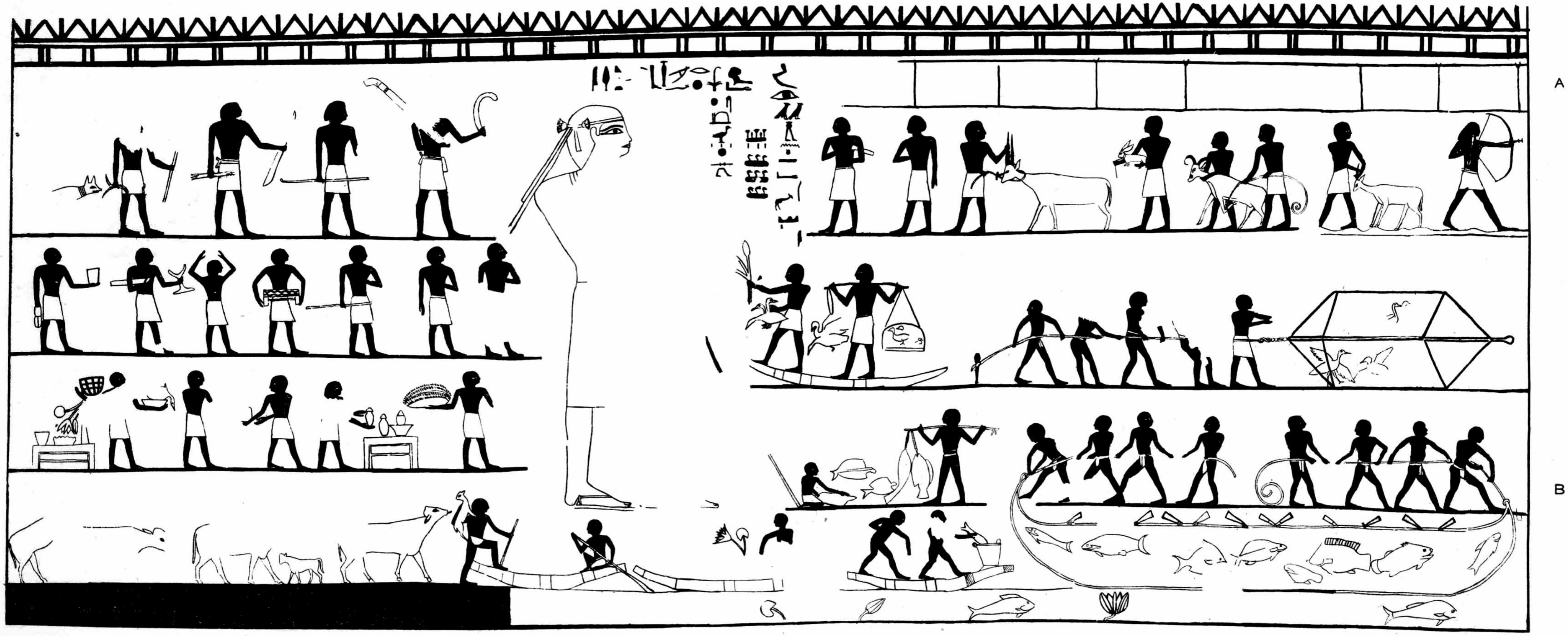
PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION

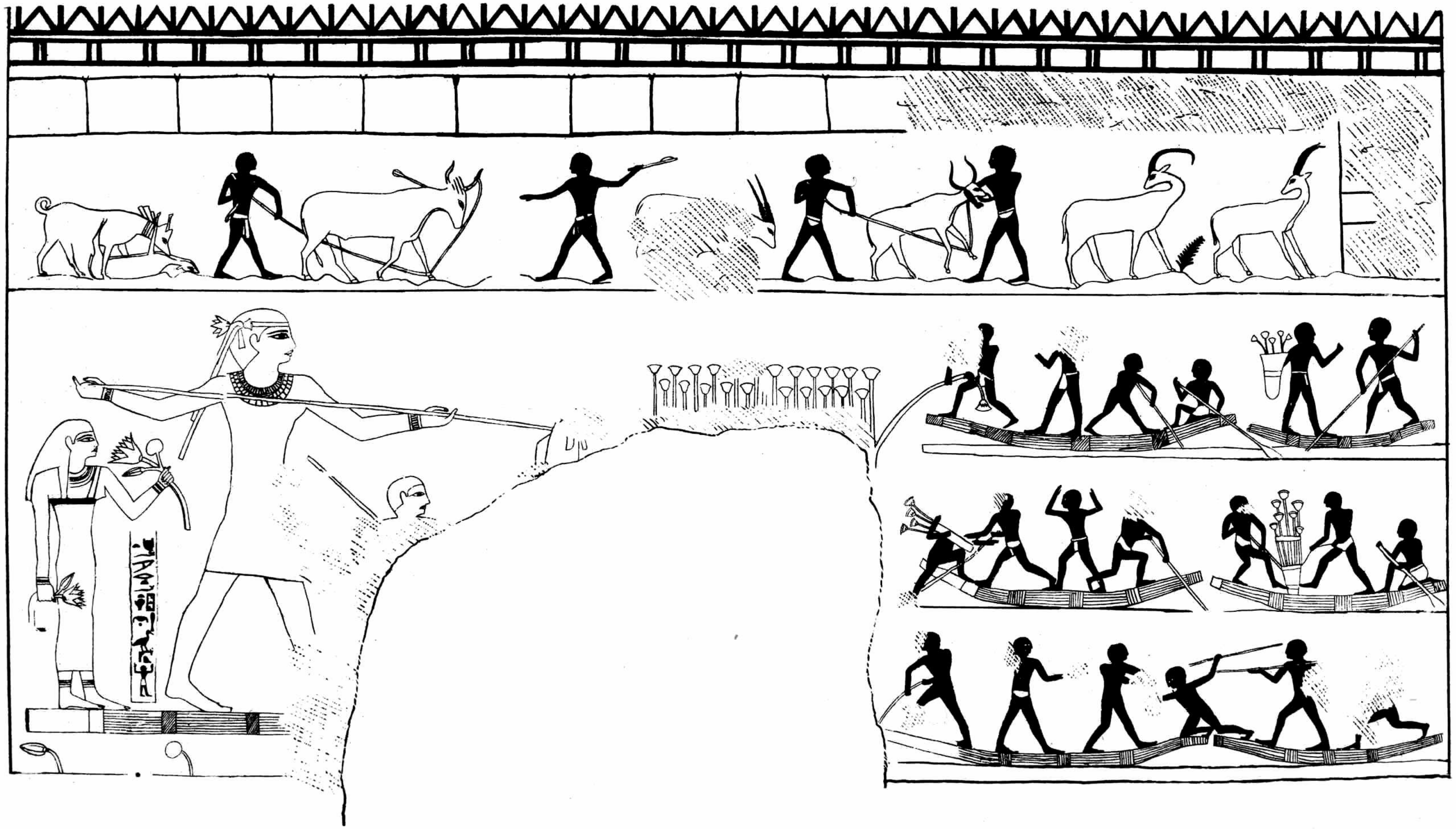


PLAN AND FRONT ELEVATION.



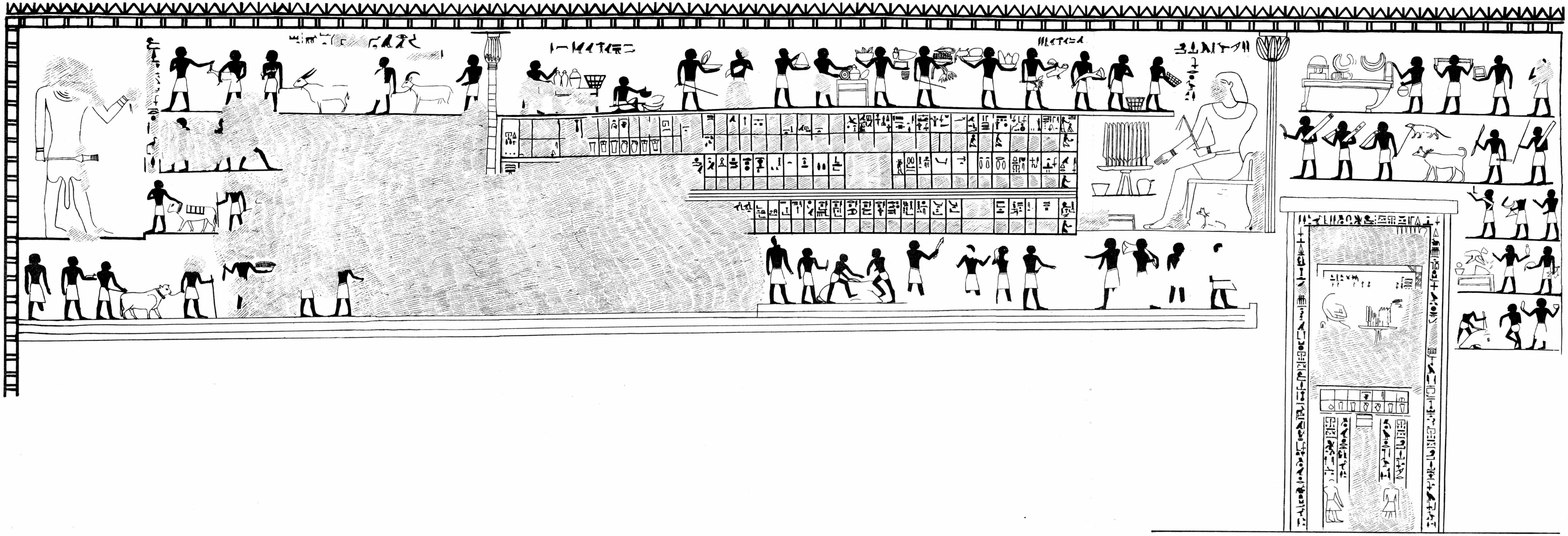
NORTH WALL
(WEST END).

A

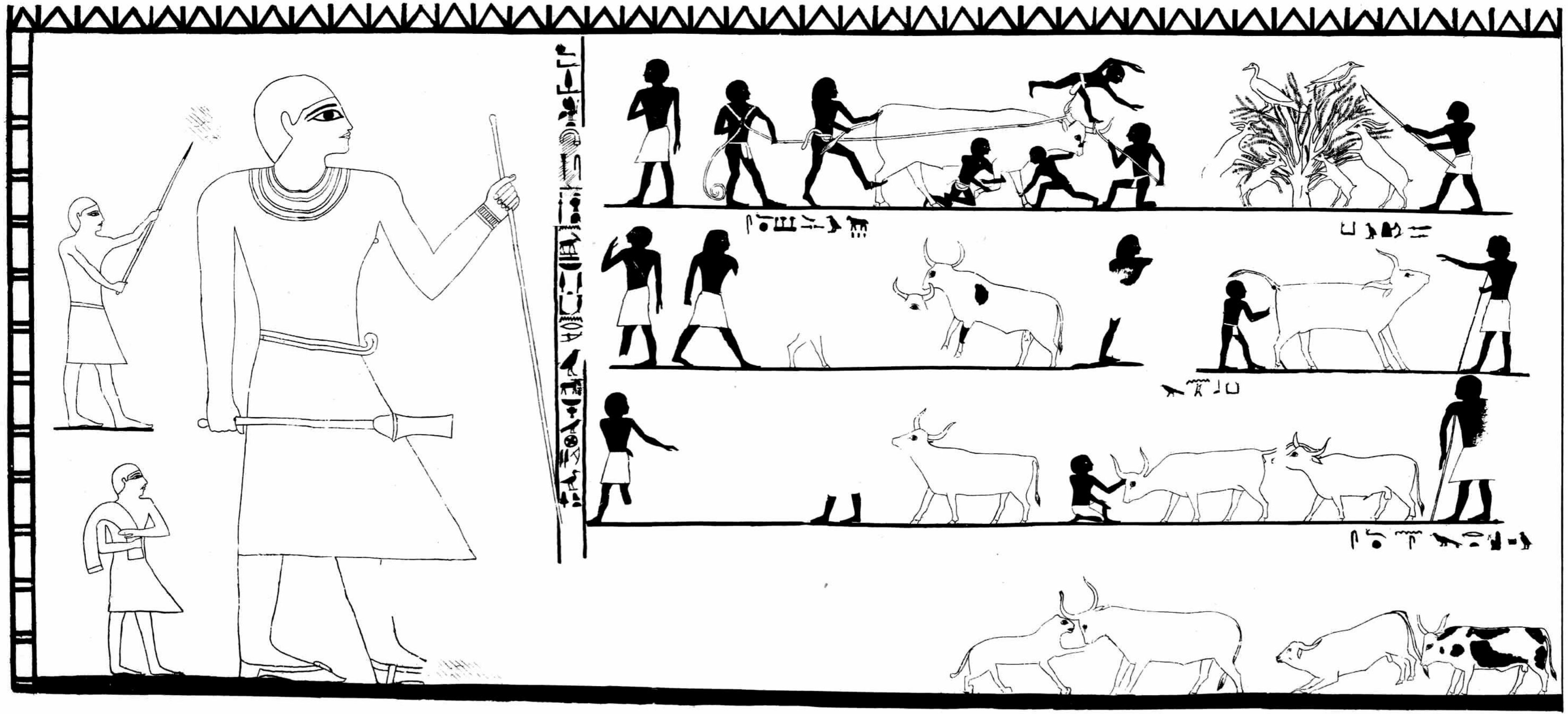


B

NORTH WALL
(EAST END).



EAST WALL.



A

B

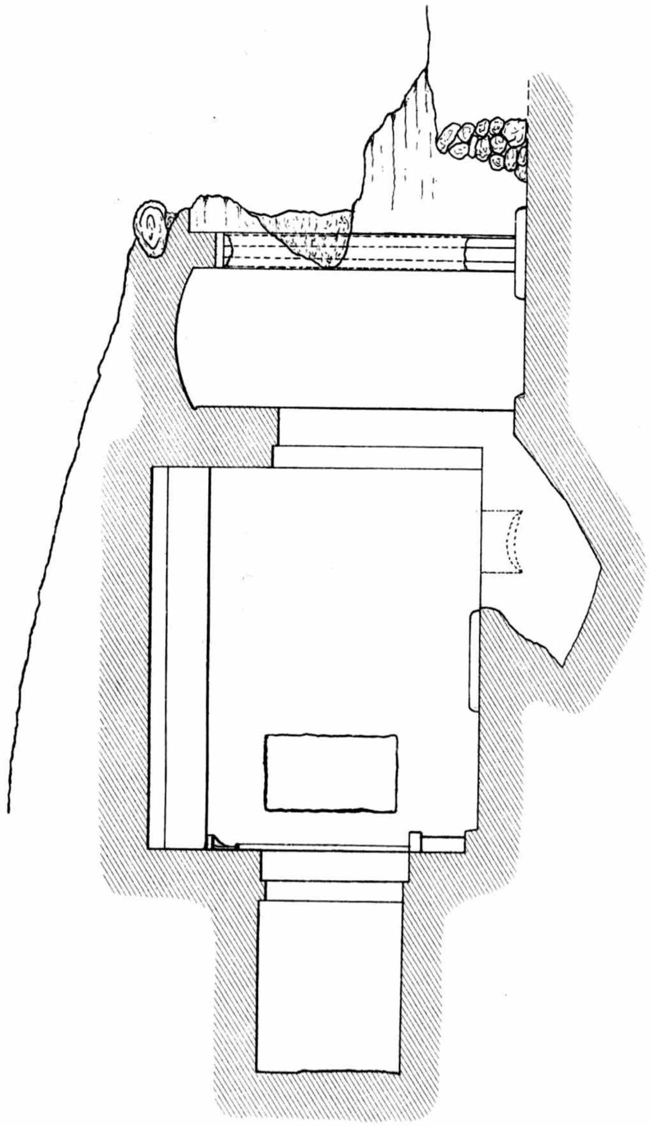
SOUTH WALL
(EASTERN HALF).

A

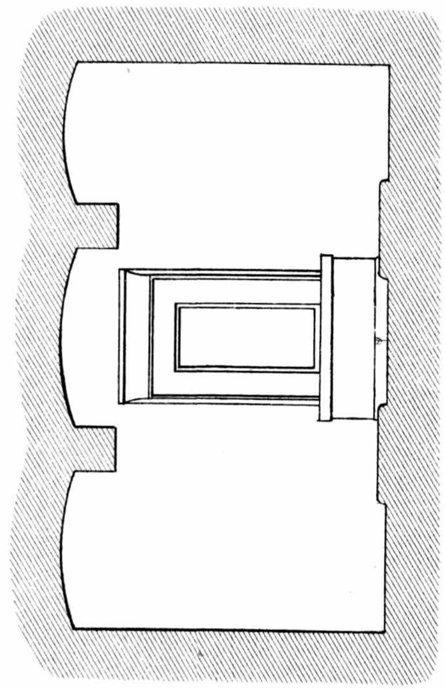


B

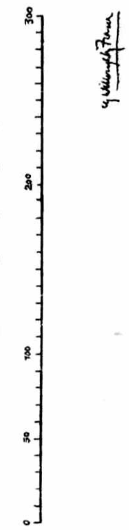
SOUTH WALL
(WESTERN HALF).

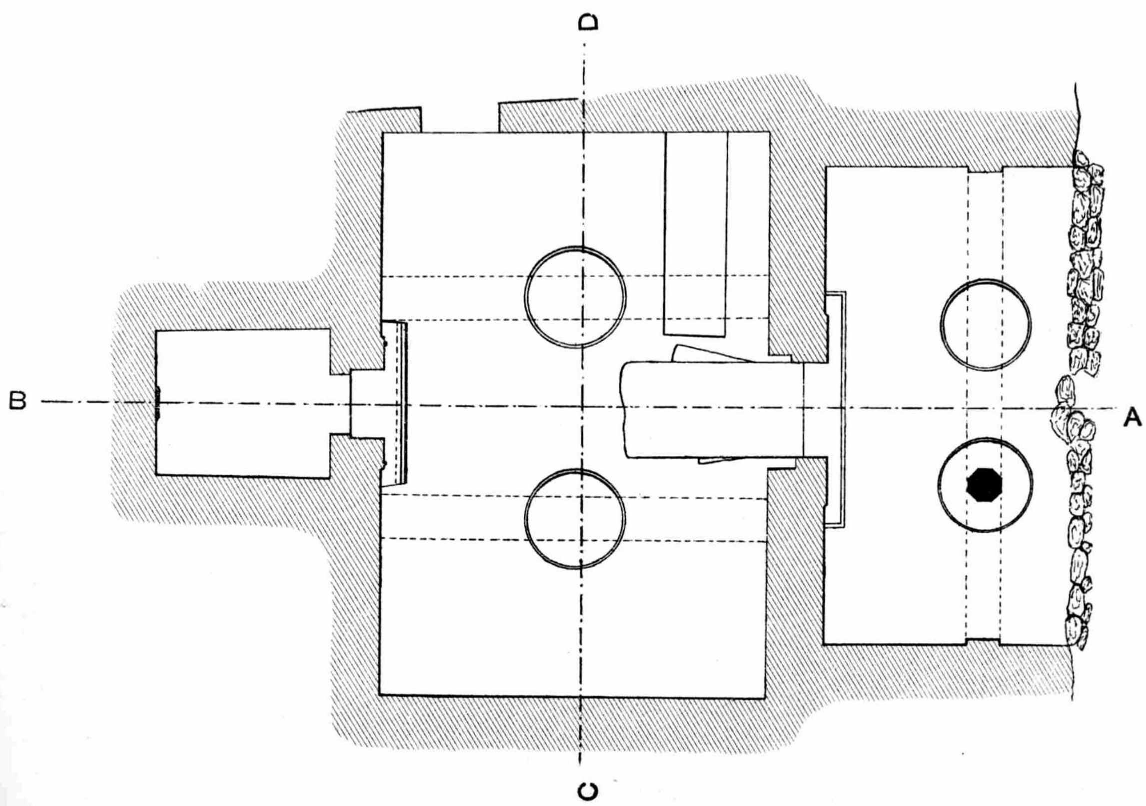


LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON A B.

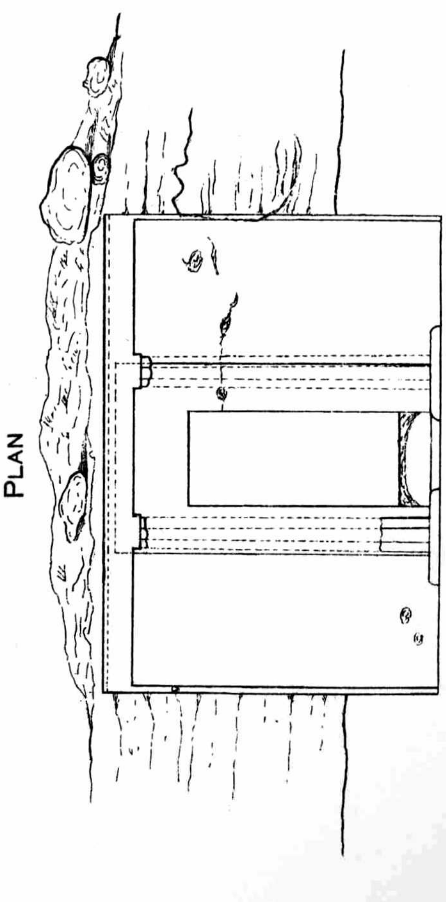


SECTIONAL ELEVATION ON C D.



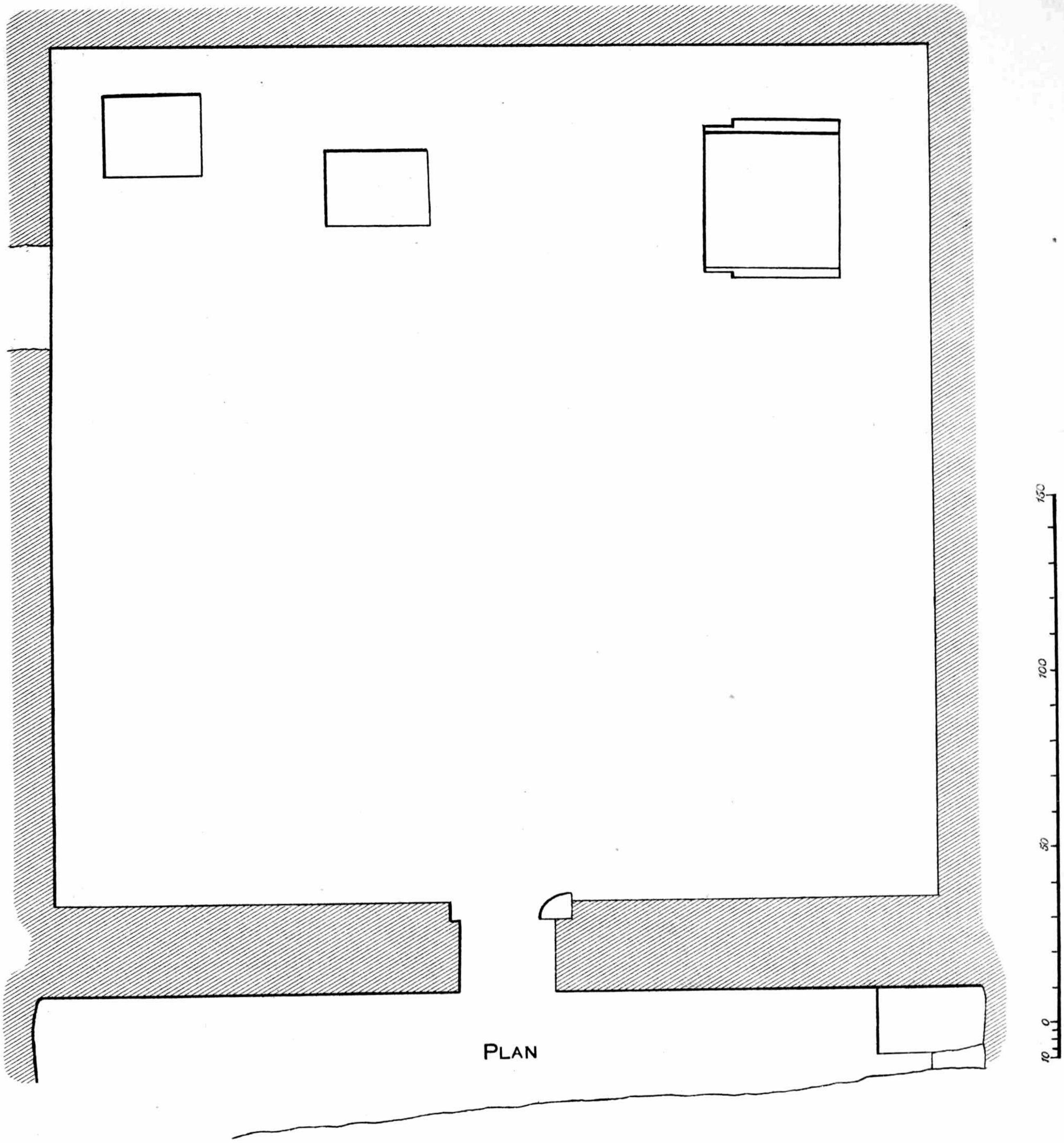


PLAN

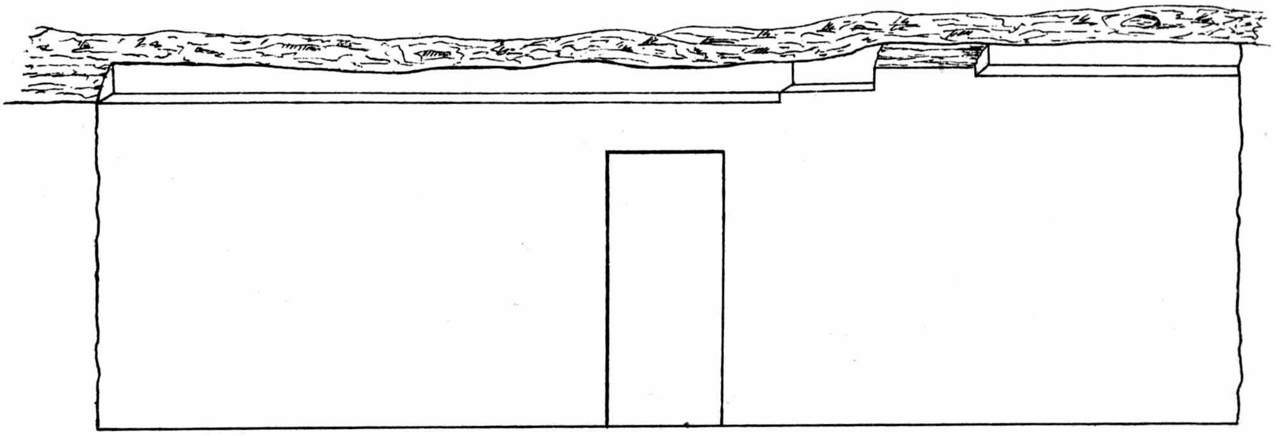


EXTERIOR ELEVATION.

PLAN, ELEVATION AND SECTIONS.



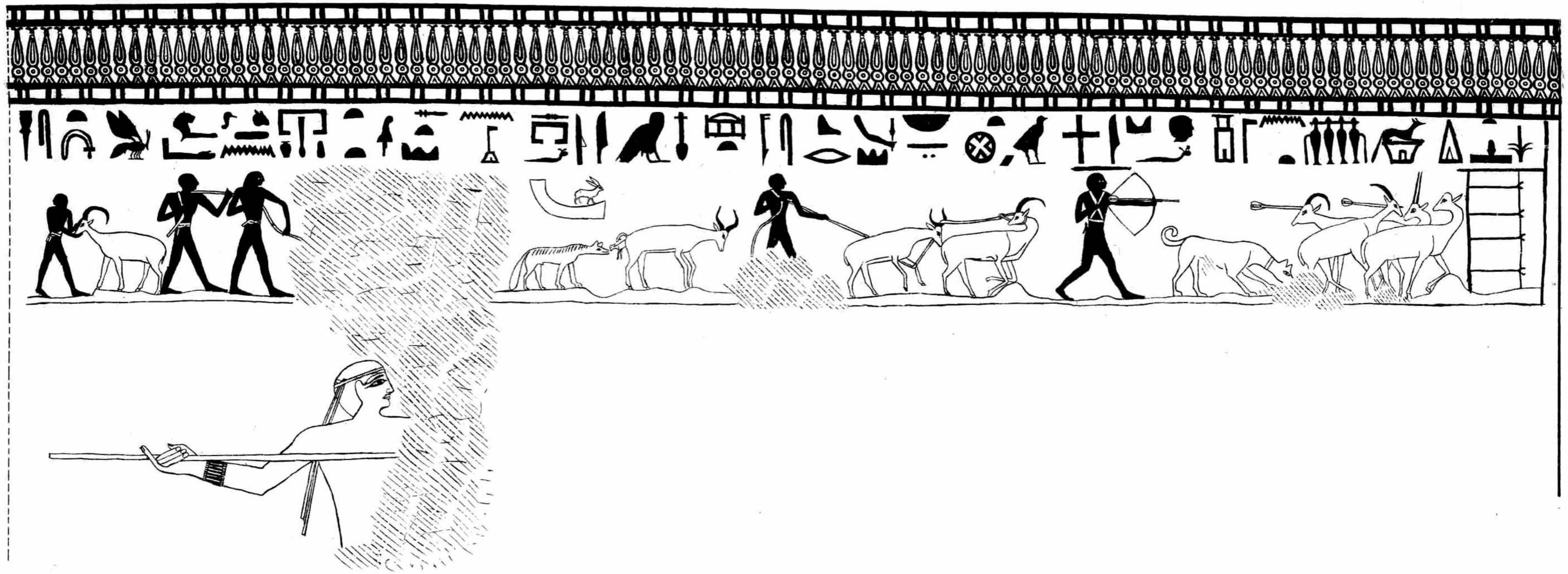
PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION

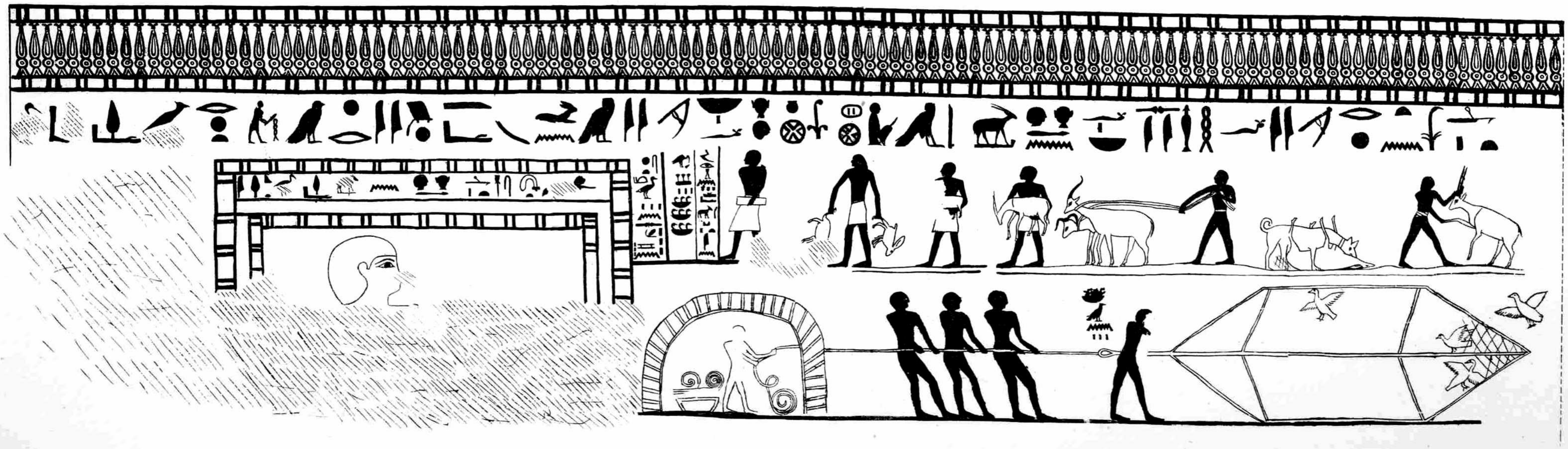
A

B

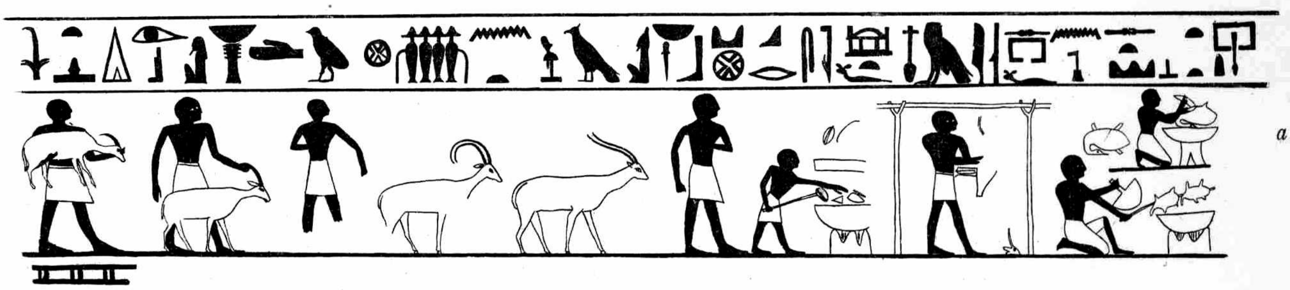


A

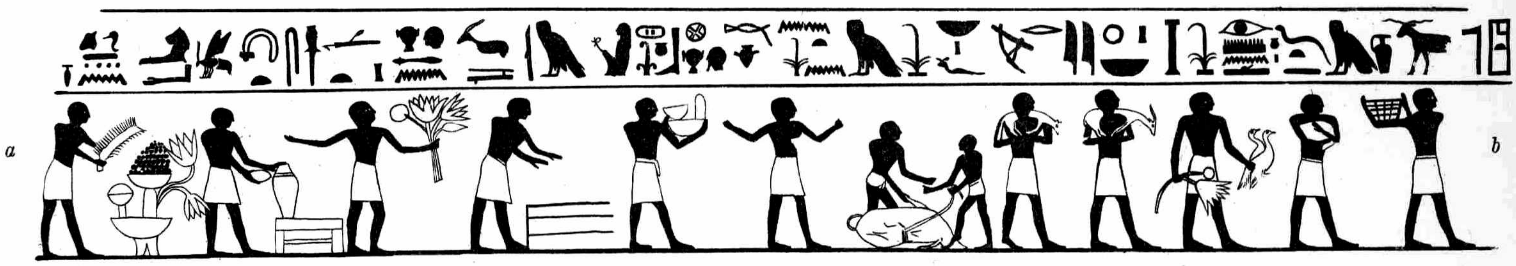
B



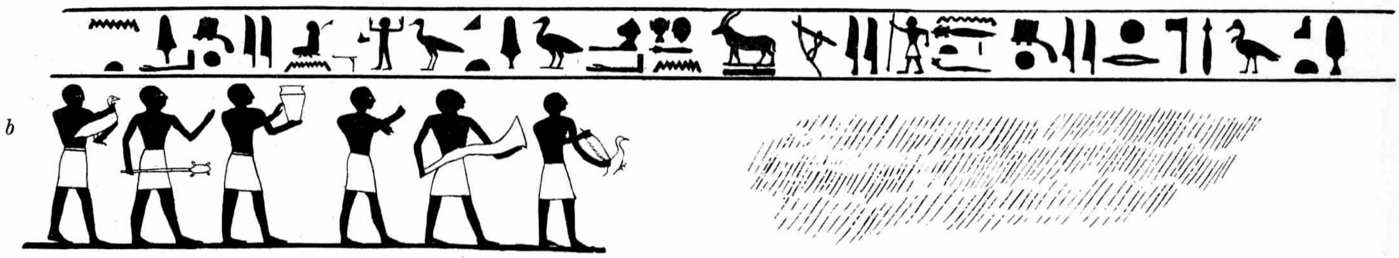
NORTH WALL



A



B



C

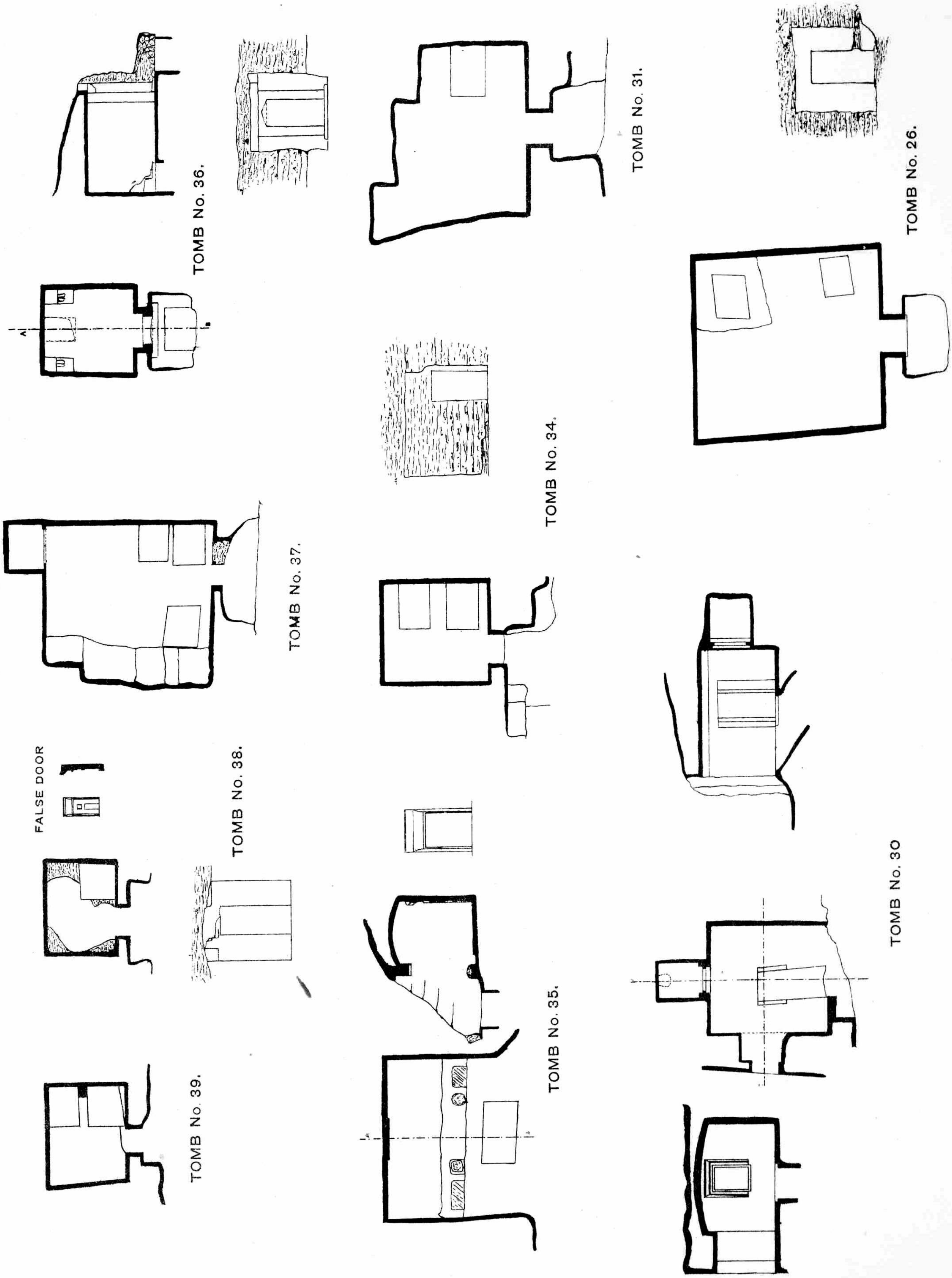


D

A.B.C. TOP ROW OF THE EAST WALL.
The lower rows are much mutilated.

D. FALSE DOOR SCULPTURED ON THE WEST WALL, SOUTH SIDE OF ENTRANCE DOORWAY

Scale 1:50.


TOMB No. 36.
TOMB No. 31.
TOMB No. 26.
TOMB No. 34.
TOMB No. 37.
FALSE DOOR
TOMB No. 38.
TOMB No. 30
TOMB No. 35.
TOMB No. 39.